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*W. H. H. H. H.*

TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
BARON ALEXANDER VON STAHL-HOLSTEIN  
Professor of Central Asian Philology, Harvard University  
Director of the Sino Indian Institute Peiping  
1877-1937



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## STAEI-HOLSTEIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO ASIATIC STUDIES

Baron Alexander von Stael Holstein was born January 1, 1877 on his family estate at Testama in the Baltic provinces, at that time the Imperial Russian Prefecture of Esthonia. His father, August von Stael Holstein, a member of the old Baltic nobility, was related to many other aristocratic families and persons, among whom is counted the French writer Madame de Stael. His mother was born Catherine von der Pahlen, also of a renowned aristocratic family. The young Baron received a good education at home and from childhood spoke both German and French. When about ten, he was sent to the "Gymnasium" in the small Esthonian town of Pernow, where many members of the Baltic nobility were educated. At this school, which included also the earlier college courses, he followed the classical program, studying Latin for eight years and Greek for six. In addition, there were also courses in algebra, geometry and trigonometry, and the regular courses in Russian and European history and literature. After graduating from the Gymnasium, he went to the University at Dorpat, where his father, as well as other members of his family, had studied. He took two years post graduate work there in the humanities and afterwards, to the great astonishment of his family, decided to go to Germany and continue his study of the Classics and begin Sanskrit. The old German proverb has it that "Jeder Baron hat seine Phantasie," and the family consoled itself with the thought that the study of Sanskrit could scarcely harm a wealthy noble. In Germany he spent three and a half years at the University of Berlin, and then transferred to the University of Halle, where he received the Ph. D. upon presentation of the following thesis: *Der Karmapradīpa, II Prapāthaka*,<sup>1</sup> *Inaugural Dissertation* Friedrichs Universität Halle Wittenberg 65 pp. Halle, 1900. His teachers already considered him a promising scholar, and when he returned to Russia the Sanskritologists F. Stcherbatsky

<sup>1</sup> The first part of the *Karmapradīpa* was studied by F. SCHRADER at Halle in 1889 of M. WINTERNITZ *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* 3 619. Leipzig 1902.

and S Oldenburg urged him to take the "magister's" examination, in order that he might teach in the Imperial University. This was passed successfully, but he postponed teaching activity and entered the Asiatic Bureau of the Foreign Office as an interpreter in the Indian section. This position enhanced his social status and did not require regular presence in the office, so that he continued his philological research work at home.

He then laid plans to go to India, the country which interested him most, and in August 1903, arrived at Bombay. In a paper read sometime during May 1904 before the Ethnographical Section of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, he explains that, just as students of the classics go to Greece and Italy, it was quite understandable that he should have a great desire to visit India, and that he was overjoyed upon arriving there. In very vivid style he describes his journey through India, his visits to well known places, and his conversations with the Hindu scholars in Sanskrit. He shows great interest in the school of music (Gandharvamahavidyalaya) at Lahore, where ancient Hindu music was studied, and where a Hindu who knew the whole Rigveda by heart sang to him some of the hymns. In Benares he stayed three months, taking advantage of the presence there of many learned pandits to collect much new information as he studied the religious life of the Hindus. In the last paragraph of his paper he states that although India presents a multiplicity of tribes, castes, and sects, every group is led by a Brahman who maintains the old sacred tradition, and that the key to an understanding of this tradition lies in the works of Sanskrit literature.

It was only five years later, in 1909, that he was appointed privat dozent at the Imperial University, after having delivered on November 6, 1909 a lecture to the members of the Faculty of Oriental Languages to justify his appointment. This lecture was entitled "Hsuan tsang and the Results of contemporary archaeological Surveys." The paper read before the Geographical Society revealed a young Sanskritologist full of enthusiasm and deeply interested in Sanskrit and in India, the lecture before the Faculty showed that the late Baron, already at the beginning of his academic career, was a well prepared scholar, possessing a deep

knowledge of the problem that he was treating and a perfect mastery of method. After mentioning the scarcity of geographical and historical material concerning ancient India, he indicated the importance of the information provided by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan tsang, who travelled in Central Asia and India between 629 and 645 A. D. collecting Buddhist texts and visiting Buddhist sites. In paragraph after paragraph he showed how the archaeological discoveries were made through the information furnished by Hsuan tsang's diary, that thus was facilitated the work of the British archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein, as well as the undertakings of many other scholars. From this first official lecture we see that the late Baron was interested in India and its cultural relations with China and Central Asia.

His whole time, outside the few hours spent in teaching at the Faculty of Oriental Languages, was devoted to studies and research in Sanskrit and Tibetan, while his interests were enlarged to include the problems raised by the epoch making discoveries in Central Asia.

During the war, the number of his students being greatly reduced, he asked permission to go to China for two years and study the Tibetan and Mongolian documents preserved in Peking. He left Petrograd via Siberia in May 1916 for Peking, without knowing that the old Chinese capital was to become his permanent residence. In 1917 the Bolshevik revolution deprived him of his personal income and of his salary. The government of the new Esthonian Republic, established in 1918 after the Versailles treaty, left him only a small part of the large real estate holdings which he and his family had possessed for many generations. He then accepted Esthonian citizenship but remained in Peking and tried to find a teaching position. The University of Peking invited him to a professorship, and he began lectures on Sanskrit to a small group of devoted pupils. But salaries were not paid regularly and times were difficult, the French Sanskritologists, with Levi and Foucher as leaders, tried in vain to help him. He remained, however, calm and full of dignity during these hard years as he continued his study of Buddhism and Sanskrit. He deeply believed that China needed him in order to prepare well trained San-

skritologists His influence is shown by the following "Since the publication of Baron A. Von Stael Holstein's article on 'The Transliterated Sanskrit Text and the Ancient Pronunciation of Chinese Characters' in 1923 [No. 12 below], the first Chinese writer who used this method to reconstruct the pronunciation of Ancient Chinese was Mr. Uang Rongbao (汪榮寶) in his article 'On the Ancient Pronunciation of the runes 歌戈魚虞模' [*KHCK* 1 No. 2]. While the publication of this article aroused most vigorous protest from the old school Chinese phonologists, it really opened up a new road to the reconstruction of the Ancient Chinese pronunciation. In my article on 'The Ancient Pronunciation of the initials 知徹澄娘' [*CYYY* 3, pt. 1], I also used this method in discussing the sound value of certain ancient initials, and I believe that any one who is willing to cultivate this extensive and fertile field will succeed in reaping further valuable results."

In 1926 he published the important *Kaṣyapaparivarta*, giving the original and unique Sanskrit text with its Tibetan and Chinese translations. It was the result of many years work, having been started while he was still in Petrograd.

His knowledge of Sanskrit and Tibetan and his profound interest in the different forms of Buddhism and Lamaism made him the friend of high Buddhist monks and learned lamas, who, coming to Peking from many remote places, never failed to visit the famous scholar. These personal contacts and visits to temples gave him direct experience with the religious traditions, and it was to him a source of sincere regret that Buddhism and Lamaism were gradually vanishing. Trying to save what still remained, he collected all the iconographical material that was available. "In July 1926 Stael Holstein received permission of Mr. Chuang, President of the Palace Committee, to visit a number of Lama temples situated in the Forbidden City—temples which for many years seem to have been entirely neglected. In the upper story of one of these temples, the Pao hsang Lou, he found a collection of bronze statuettes constituting a Lamaistic Pantheon which had

\* Lo Changlei (羅常培) *The Northwestern Dialects of Tang and Five Dynasties*. *The National Research Institute of History and Philology Monograph Series A* No. 12 p. vi, Shanghai 1933.

consisted originally of 787 figures.”<sup>3</sup> His friends in Peking still remember how enthusiastic he was about this discovery. He started to take photographs of all the statues but had time to complete only his work upon the statuettes of the Pantheon in the upper story, “when an official letter from the Palace authorities informed him that his photographers would not be allowed to continue their work.”

In 1928 he came to Cambridge and brought his material on the “Two Lamaistic Pantheons,” giving them to the Harvard College Library for publication. During this academic year he lectured at Harvard as visiting professor. In September 1929 he was appointed Professor of Central Asian Philology and returned to Peking. This new nomination and new support was an important event in his private and academic life. After going back to Peking he married Miss Olga von Grave who bore him a son and a daughter.

Under his directorship there was established the Sino-Indian Institute, where, in collaboration with Chinese and Western scholars, as well as Tibetan and Mongol lamas, he continued on a wider scale comparative studies of Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese Buddhist texts. Chinese scholars appreciated his work, and he was elected a member of the official Academia Sinica. For his academic activities the French government gave him the cross of the Legion of Honor.

In 1932 appeared his article on a Tibetan text translated into Sanskrit under Ch'ien-lung (18th cent.) and into Chinese under Tao-kuang (19th cent.) which, as he says near the beginning, is quite exceptional, because there are many texts of Tibetan works translated from Sanskrit, but this “Ritual for the Worship of the Guru of the Tusita Heaven” is the only one which is translated from an original Tibetan text into Sanskrit. The five pages of translation are accompanied by thirteen pages of substantial notes. He also continued to work in Tibetan iconography and published in this same year an article on two Tibetan pictures (No. 23). In 1934 a very valuable article on two recent recon-

<sup>3</sup> W E CLARK, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, p xi, Cambridge, Mass., 1937

structions of a Sanskrit hymn transliterated with Chinese characters in the 10th century A D appeared in the *Yenching Journal*. This problem of reconstruction of the original Sanskrit from Chinese transliterations had already been studied by him, and three Sanskrit hymns were published in 1913 (*Bibl Buddh* 15). In this article he again mentions the importance of these transliterations, and especially those of Buddhist sacred formulae, not only for Sanskrit studies but also for the study of the history of Chinese phonetics, and stresses the indispensability of Tibetan in order to compare the Chinese transliterations with the original Sanskrit words. In the same year he published a short article on his Tibetan Kanjur, printed in 1692 A D. The scientific apparatus is contained in very substantial notes concerning the different problems connected with this important Buddhist collection.

During the last five years, in spite of illness which was slowly becoming worse, he continued to work intensively. His last article, on Avalokitesvara, was published in this Journal. In the summer of 1936 he went to Japan, but soon returned to Peking on account of poor health. His family and friends were anxious about him, but, refusing to follow the advice of doctors that he abandon work, he continued to spend his days in the study. From the beginning of 1937 he felt quite seriously ill, yet it was not until the last week that he consented to enter the German hospital, where it was too late to save his life. His blood pressure was too high, and his body extremely weakened by long dieting. On March 16 he died. A great scholar passed away leaving nobody to fill his place. Buddhist studies will probably have to wait a long time for another who will be able, with the same scientific equipment and deep erudition, to continue the work in this special and difficult field.

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THE SHUN-TSUNG SHIH-LU 順宗實錄 AND THE  
HSÜ HSUAN-KUAI LU 積玄怪錄

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A general consideration of the materials for the history of China will show, on the whole, that private compilations easily fall into slander and error, while the blemish on official works lies in the fact that they either avoid or embellish many important facts. When studying the history of an event, if one can take into equal consideration the official and the private works, and, after due reflection, choose carefully from them, he may succeed in getting a true picture of the event and escape the errors of slander and omission.<sup>1</sup>

HAN Yu's (768-824 A. D.) *Shun-tsung shih-lu* (Cl. 昌黎先生外集 6-10) is a history prepared and presented by a court historian. LI Fu-yên's 李復言 *Hsu Hsuan-kuai lu* is a composition offered by an unreliable candidate for official preferment. The content of the two books is decidedly not of the same type, but what they record regarding the secret relations of Hsien-tsung and the eunuchs during the whole Yuan-ho period, may be used each in turn to elucidate the other. I mention this merely as an example.

Since HAN Yu's works are commonly read by all, I need only state the title; there is no further necessity of describing his text. On the other hand, LI Fu-yên's composition suffers differences of title, and there are many varying opinions relative to the date of compilation and the interpretation of phrases. It is not easy to understand. However, since the section of Mr. LI's book that I would quote in this article was not drawn into the *T'ai-p'ing*

<sup>1</sup> [The salient facts of this article will be clearer if the reader will bear in mind that Emperor Shun tsung 順宗 ruled during the first eight moons of 805 A. D., and that this period is known by the name Chên yüan 貞元. Emperor Hsien tsung 憲宗, the son and successor, ruled from the eighth moon of 805 to 820. The rest of the year 805 is known by the era name of Yung-chen 永貞. Beginning with 806 it is the era Yuan ho 元和.]

*kuang chi*,<sup>2</sup> there is no means of collating the text of this passage, and to avoid prolixity I will not discuss at this time the questions raised by this book. I quote it from the *Hsü yü* 幽 [better, *hsüan*]-*kuai lu* as published by The Commercial Press in the *Ssü pu ts'ung k'an's hsu pien*. Ch. 1.5a-9h<sup>1</sup> (the 辛公平上仙 section) reads *en abrégé* as follows:

"The Commander of Kao-an Hsien in Hung Chou 洪州高安縣尉, Hsin Kung-p'ing and the Commander of Lu-ling Hsien in Chi Chou, Ch'êng Shih-lien 吉州廬陵縣尉戚士廉 both were natives of Hsia-p'ei Hsien in Ssü Chou 泗州下邳縣. At the end of the Yuan-ho period they both went up to the muster. . . . On the way they stopped at Wên Hsiang 閔鄉. . . . The green-clad servant named Wang Chên 王臻 said to them, 'I am a groom 迎得 to a palace eunuch 陰吏. . . .<sup>3</sup> Ordinary folk do not understand this trip, but you wanderers 'can see all.' Mr. Ch'êng spoke up, 'Why do you leave me out?' He replied, '. . . Your life-span is short, therefore you simply cannot. One would not dare not to be attuned to one's lot. On entering the city [of Ch'ang-an], you should take up lodging with the Wang family at wooden doorway No. 2 along the wall north of the Western Gate in the K'ai-hua Quarter 開化坊. . . . In the first part of the fifth watch Mr. Hsin shall stand under the old *huai* 槐 tree in Pa-hsi.'

"At the appointed time Hsin walked to Pa-hsi. . . . Wang Chên led him to visit the Commander-in-Chief [of the cavalry sent to meet the emperor at his apotheosis]. . . . He remained there several days. . . . [The Commander-in-Chief] was in charge of the armed horse. At the *hsu* hour (7-9 P. M.) [Hsin was with him,] they entered together the Kuang-fan [gateway] 光範, and all the

<sup>1</sup>[Cf. the useful index to this Sung Dynasty compilation: *Yin-tê No. 15*, 太平廣記 篇目及引書引得, Peiping, Jan. 1934]

<sup>2</sup>[Conditions in the Far East render it quite impossible for the translator to consult with Professor Tschén regarding difficulties encountered in the texts quoted. The translation of many terms is, therefore, made with all reserves.]

<sup>3</sup>The present text is perfectly clear at the first glance, but a more careful examination leads me to suspect that 幸 is an error for 辛. A distinction was to be drawn between Mr Hsin and Mr Ch'êng mentioned immediately afterwards. Hsu Nai-ch'ang's 徐乃昌 reprint of this text appends a 校勘札記 (Collation Notes), but no variant is noted for this *kuang*. [Therefore, for "you wanderers" read "Mr Hsin"]

gate-attendants stood at attention and howed. . . . The general, with gold shield and grasping a halberd, came and stood at the foot of the [Hsuan-chêng 宣政] Hall. . . . Fifty followers surrounded the hall and bared their weapons, as though prepared for something extraordinary. Those in the hall were then making merry with song and dance. . . . Suddenly, at four points into the third watch 三更四點, a tall man with a hushy beard . . . of frightful aspect appeared, one knew not whence, with a golden spoon whose bowl was over a foot long, and, presenting it before the general, said in a long drawn out voice, 'The time has come.' Frowning, the general greeted him and departed saying all right. From the western room he mounted the steps, and kneeling behind the throne, presented it to the emperor. When he had finished, the attendants crowded about; the emperor's head was in a whirl; the sound of music spread quickly. [The emperor] was assisted into the western chamber, and for a long time did not come out. . . . In the third watch, in the green jade palanquin, the emperor was carried from the palace. . . . Following on foot [the general] left. Of the chamber and door attendants, there were none who did not sob as they bade [Him] farewell in unison. Some, gathering [their tears] on plates, presented them at the palanquin—they could not bear to see him go. Having passed through the Hsuan-chêng Palace, with 200 horse before and 300 bringing up the rear, like the wind and like lightning, suddenly they went eastward. As they were leaving by the Wang-hsien Gateway 望仙門, the general commanded Wang Chên to escort off Hsin Kung-p'ing. Then, reining his horse, he left the squad, and, before one could realize it, they arrived before a wooden door. Wang Chên said, 'This is the Wang family's home in the K'ai-hua district where Mr. Ch'êng is staying. . . . Hsin Kung-p'ing gave one knock at the door, when a man appeared who was, of course, Mr. Ch'êng. They did not dare divulge the secret, and after several months there were tears of regret.'

Li Fu-yen borrows Taoist and military terminology to record the fact that Hsien-tsung was murdered. This is clearly a case, in the words of Tu Yu 杜預, of "impassionately writing one's account

with suhtlety but also clarity, with detail but also conciseness"<sup>2</sup> After the middle of the T'ang Dynasty, on the occasion of the substitution of a new ruler for an old, there were several revolutions in the palace, and the eunuchs were the prime movers in these revolutions. The officials away from the court were simply pitiable subordinates and victims of the palace eunuchs both during the struggle and after the determination of the winners. In the history of the government of the T'ang Dynasty this factor weighs very heavily, but it was the special secret of the palace and outsiders could not easily learn about it. Moreover, the eunuchs in turn maintained deep silence and avoided all mention of these events, for they did not want anyone outside the court to learn about them. Hsien tsung was an enlightened ruler of the restoration period, his prestige was vastly different from that of other rulers. Therefore, in order to prevent the mass of officialdom from making their party the target of their arrows, later eunuchs wished to conceal the relations of the ruler of the Yuan ho period with their class. But first let me quote *en abregé* from the *Shun tsung shih lu* and other relevant historical material, then later I will discuss them as a group in order to prove my theory.

Some material from the *Shun tsung shih lu* relative to disputes between cliques of palace eunuchs. "In the first moon of 805 A. D. WANG P'ei 王伾 reported WANG Shu wen's 王叔文 opinion to the eunuch LI Chung yen 李忠言, that it was fitting that a decree be issued."

"On June 23 of the same year the eunuch CHU Wên chên 俱文珍 and the others abolished WANG Shu wên's position as *Han lin hsueh shih* 翰林學士."

"In the seventh moon of the same year the business of the empire was entirely at the discretion of WANG Shu wen, WANG P'ei and LI Chung yen took care of his interests within the palace. The eunuchs LIU Kuang ch'i 劉九奇 and CHU Wên chên were equally suspicious and resentful and frequently reported [their suspicions] to the emperor. Accordingly, Shun tsung issued a decree that the Heir Apparent [Hsien tsung] take over the administration of military and civil matters."

<sup>2</sup> A Commentary to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* Tso chuan Preface

"In the eighth moon of 805 A.D., WANG Shu-wên, having got his wish, along with WANG P'ei and LI Chung-yen, he exercised his discretion in external matters, and WANG P'ei entered the Shih-lin Yuan 柿林院 to see LI Chung-yen."

These examples will suffice, for Han Yu's works are read by all.

In CHU Wên-chên's biography (*Chiu T'ang shu* 84; LIU Chên-liang's 劉貞亮 biography in *Hsin T'ang shu* 207 reads the same) we find this: "CHU Wên-chên then plotted with the eunuchs LIU Kuang-ch'î, Hsieh Wên-chên, SHANG Yen, and Hsieh Yü 薛文珍, 尙衍, 解王, and presented a memorial requesting that the Prince of Kuang-ling 廣陵王 he made Heir Apparent and have charge of the military and governmental affairs of the realm. Shun-tsung approved. When the Heir Apparent had assumed control, he expelled all of WANG Shu-wên's party."

LIU Yu-hsi's 劉禹錫 *wai-chi* ch. 9 (劉夢得外集, his autobiography) reads as follows: "At that time the emperor [Shun-tsung] was sick abed for a long time, and neither ministers nor those in authority could get any response from him. While palace affairs were kept secret, they set up a Huan 桓 or a Shun 順,<sup>6</sup> and the credit was assigned to the noble ministers."

Chapter 15 of the *Chiu T'ang shu* (Hsien-tsung's Annals) goes as follows: "On Feb. 14, 820 A. D. the emperor died in the Chung-ho Hall 中和殿 of the Ta-ming Palace 大明宮. At the time it was held he died of violence, and all claimed that the eunuch Ch'ên Hung-chih 陳弘志 had murdered him, but the historians, avoiding the question, do not record it."

In ch. 184 of the *Chiu T'ang shu*,<sup>7</sup> the biography of the eunuch Wang Shou-ch'êng 王守澄, we read: "When Hsien-tsung was on the point of dying, the eunuch Ch'ên Hung-ch'ing<sup>8</sup> 慶 murdered Hsien-tsung. His audacity and personality so impressed others that the eunuchs kept it secret and did not dare punish or expel

<sup>6</sup> This is a reference to the Second Han Dynasty [when succession was determined by the palace eunuchs] Cf. *Hou Han-shu* 108, the biographies of SUN Ch'êng and Ts'ao T'eng 孫程, 曹騰. The two emperors mentioned ruled 125-144 and 146-167, respectively.

<sup>7</sup> *Hsin T'ang shu* 208 (WANG Shou ch'êng) is approximately the same.

<sup>8</sup> *Chiu T'ang shu*, Hsien tsung's Annals, reads Ch'ên Hung-chih 志.

him. They merely remarked, 'Medicine appeared, and He died of violence.'"

*Tzū-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 241, *Hsien-tsung's Annals*: "On Feb. 14, 820 A. D. [Hsien-tsung] perished of violence in the Chung-ho Hall. At that time all said that the eunuch Ch'ên Hung-chih had murdered him. His party avoided [all mention of] the matter and did not dare punish him as a rebel. They merely remarked, 'Medicine appeared.' But no outsider understood [what had happened]."

In Lu Sui's 路隋 biography (*Chiu T'ang shu* 159.6h, *Hsin T'ang shu* 142.6h): "Formerly, when HAN Yu compiled the *Shun-tsung shih lu*, he spoke most frankly of palace affairs. [Consequently] the eunuchs disliked him and frequently mentioned inexactitudes to the emperor. Under several reigns there were commands to revise [HAN Yu's work]. After Lu Sui presented his *Hsien-tsung shih lu* 憲宗實錄, Wên-tsung 文 again commanded that the matters of the Yung-chên period be corrected. Lu Sui then memorialized: '... It is your Majesty's opinion that the aforementioned *shih-lu*\* has made a few errors of fact in recording some events of the end of the Chên-yuan period [785-805]. As for what is derived from hearsay, and on examination reveals discrepancies, it is fitting to order it changed. I have just given the day to frequent consideration of Your Majesty's words, but a complete calculation of the problem will require several days.... As for the *shih-lu* [in question] I humbly trust that, after giving an itemized list of the worst errors in the old record, an order will be issued charging the Bureau of History with the revision thereof. . . .' An imperial order was issued as follows: 'As for the palace affairs under Tê-tsung 德 [780-805] and Shun-tsung recorded in the *shih-lu* [in question], let their sources be sought out. As for what comes from fiction and is not at all trustworthy history, it is fitting that the Bureau of History carefully rectify or delete it. The rest must not be changed.'"

Chapter 160 of the *Chiu T'ang shu* (HAN Yu's biography) reads: "Contemporaries claimed that [HAN] Yu had historical

\* HAN Yu's *Shun-tsung shih lu*

talent. Yet, when he compiled the *Shun-tsung shih-lu*, the mass of materials proved unwieldy, and his account erred in its choice of the relevant. It was rather disapproved by his own dynasty. When Mu-tsung 穆 [821-824] and Wên-tsung [827-840] once ordered the Bureau of History to make alterations, since HAN Yu's sons-in-law Li Han 李漢 and Chiang Hsi 蔣係 occupied prominent positions, everybody opposed it. Wei Ch'u-hou 韋處厚, however, finally compiled another *Shun-tsung shih-lu* in three rolls."<sup>10</sup>

The "Report" mentioned in footnote 10 contains the following statement: "... As for the errors contained therein, you had me alter them, and you rejected the former copy which I presented.... When Your Majesty gazes upon a thing, nothing escapes Your notice. Yet You pardoned my failure, and re-ordered corrections. Today I have finished making the alterations.... If what I say is not yet completely clear or is ignorance on my part, I implore that You confer Your instructions, for I hope that the compilation will be handed on forever and ever."

Taken together, the quotations given above show that I was not mistaken in saying that the succession in the Yung-chên period was merely the outcome of a struggle between two factions of eunuchs in the palace at that time. The two emperors Shun-tsung and Hsien-tsung—father and son—were their victims and puppets, how much the more so such persons as WANG P'ei, WANG Shu-wên, WEI Chih-i 韋執誼, LIU Yü-hsi, and LIU Tsung-yuan 柳宗元.

That HAN Yu had some association with the eunuch CHU Wên-chên is shown by the "Foreword [to a Poem] presented to the *Chien-chun* of Pien Chou, CHU Wên-chên" in ch. 3 of the *Ch'ang-li hsien-shêng wai-chi*, and the CHU Wên-chên section in WANG Ming-shêng's [1720-1798] *I shu pien* 57 王鳴盛, 蛾術編. There-

<sup>10</sup> HAN Yu's "Report accompanying the Presentation of the *Shih-lu* of the Emperor Shun-tsung" (*Ch'ang-li Hsien shêng chi* 38) reads "Li Chi-fu 李吉甫 handed me the *Hsien Ti shih-lu* [*Shih-lu* of the late Emperor] in three rolls compiled by the former member of the Bureau of History, WEI Ch'u-hou, saying, 'Since it is not yet completed, I am having you do it over'" This shows that WEI Ch'u-hou's work in three rolls preceded HAN Yu's five rolls, and that the biography of HAN Yu was compiled carelessly



fore, everything pertaining to the eunuchs in the *Shun tsung shih lu* comes from a eunuch of his own day. Further, after the changes made on the basis of Hsien tsung's examination, the account should be a true picture of what transpired. Just because of this, however, it came to be disliked by the eunuchs, for they did not want outsiders to know the story of their party's persecution of Shun tsung at the end of the Chen yuán period in order to set Hsien tsung upon the throne. Then, when Hsien tsung was murdered by his eunuchs they concealed and avoided mention of the facts. They threw doubt upon an important event in our national history, so that its story cannot be told explicitly. Thus two important events, the succession in the Yung chen period and the murder of Hsien tsung—facts regarding the relations between ruler and eunuch during the whole Yuan ho period—were utterly silenced and completely avoided by the eunuchs from the time of Mu tsung on (820-824). Therefore, they gave all their thought to exterminating or changing attempts at recording the story, in order that every trace of it might be wiped out. The facts in the section from Li Fu yen's book that I have quoted above constitute historical material regarding these events that have been fortunate enough to be preserved. Should we disregard them just because they happen to be the words of a novelist?<sup>21</sup>

SUMMER, 1937

<sup>21</sup> I would here express my gratitude to Dr J. R. WARE for translating this article into English.

**ZWEI KAISERLICHE ERLASSE**  
**VOM AUSGANGE DER REGIERUNG KIENLUNG, DIE**  
**GORKHA BETREFFEND**

ÜBERSETZT VON  
**ERICH HAENISCH**  
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Als ich im vergangenen Jahre (1936) wieder einmal zu Studienzwecken in der alten chinesischen Hauptstadt weilte, konnte ich die Bekanntschaft mit Baron v. Stael-Holstein erneuern, der so bald darauf der Wissenschaft durch den Tod entrissen werden sollte. Der gelehrte Edelmann, der seit unserem letzten Zusammentreffen im Jahre 1928 sein einzigartiges lamaistisches Forschungsinstitut aufgehaut hatte, stand mir auch dies Mal wieder mit seinem Rat vorbehaltlos zur Seite. Eine Verständigung war leicht, dank der deutschen Schule, durch die sein Studium gegangen war.—Mit grosser Liebe sprach er von seiner Gottinger Universitätszeit.—Baron v. Stael-Holstein gab mir beim Abschied die Photos einiger in seinem Besitz befindlicher Schriftstücke mit, mit der Bitte, sie für seine Zeitschrift zu bearbeiten. Ich erfülle seinen Wunsch mit dem Gefühl der Trauer, ihm den Aufsatz heute nur als ein Zeichen dankbarer und verehrender Erinnerung widmen zu können.

Von den Schriftstücken hat das eine, in mandschurischer und mongolischer Sprache abgefasst, lamaistischen Inhalt. Die beiden anderen, in mandschurischer und tibetischer Sprache, betreffen die Beziehungen zu den Ghorka, d. h. zu dem Lande Nepal. Ich habe zunächst diese letzteren zur Bearbeitung gewählt, da mich geschichtliche Forschungen gerade zu diesem Lande geführt hatten.

Zwar ist das Hochgebirgsland Nepal schon seit alter Zeit in China bekannt gewesen, und unter dem ersten Kaiser der Ming-Dynastie haben bereits Beziehungen bestanden. Aber erst im Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts ist das Land zu dem chinesischen Reiche in ein Tributverhältnis getreten, in Folge eines Krieges, der zu den bedeutenden Unternehmungen der Kienlung'schen Kolonialperiode gehört. Das Land war in den sechziger Jahren durch den aus den

Westgebirgen eingetroffenen kriegerischen Stamm der Gorkha in Besitz genommen worden. Handelszwistigkeiten mit den Tibetern führten zu einem bewaffneten Einfall i. J. 1790, der von dem chinesischen Residenten vor der Regierung verheimlicht und von den Tibetern mit der Zusage einer jährlichen Silbersumme bezahlt wurde. Andererseits gelang es, die Gorkha zu einer Geschenksendung an den Hof zu veranlassen, die man dem Kaiser als freiwillige Tributleistung darstellte. Als aber die Zahlung der Tibeter ausblieb, wiederholten die Gorkha ihren Einbruch im nächsten Jahre, um diesmal bis nach Shigatse, der Residenz des Panchen Lama zu kommen, die sie brandschatzten. Ein solcher Überfall auf chinesisches Hoheitsgebiet konnte nicht unbeachtet noch ungeahnt bleiben. Der bewährte Feldherr Fukanggan 福康安, damals Generalgouverneur der Kuang-Provinzen, wurde mit einer Strafexpedition betraut und zwang nach halbjährigem Kampf im September 1792, nur einen Tagesmarsch von der Hauptstadt Katmandu entfernt, den Feind zur Kapitulation und zum Tributvertrag. Des Generalgouverneurs von Indien, Lord Cornwallis' Abgesandter, Oberst Kirkpatrick, der zwischen beiden Parteien vermitteln sollte, traf zu spät ein.—Das Tributverhältnis ist von Nepals Seite ungeachtet der politischen Veränderungen bis in den Ausgang der Dynastie eingehalten worden, im Grunde natürlich zwecks Erlangung der chinesischen Gegengeschenke, vor allem der Seidenstoffe.

Über die Verhältnisse und Vorgänge jener Zeit werden wir durch das klassische Buch von Sylvain Lévi unterrichtet,<sup>1</sup> das die beste Auskunft über das Land und seine Geschichte bietet. Es giebt uns auch die Quellen von nepalesischer Seite an sowie die britischen Berichte über jene Zeit. Für die chinesische Seite ist es allerdings recht summarisch. Es beschränkt sich auf Imbault-Huart's Übersetzung<sup>2</sup> von Wei Yuan's kurzem Bericht im *Sheng-wu ki* 魏源, 聖武記, das nicht als Quellenwerk gelten kann. So sei hierunter ergänzend die Literatur aufgeführt, aus der wir Näheres über die Ereignisse erfahren können.

<sup>1</sup> *Étude historique d'un royaume hindou (Annales du Musée Guimet)*, 3 Bde, Paris, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la conquête du Népal*, JA, 1878

A) Als erste Quellen, d. h. Berichte unmittelbarer Art und Verfügungen mit unmittelbarer politischer Wirkung, hatten wir die Akten des chinesischen Archivs, die eingegangenen militärischen und politischen Meldungen und die ausgesandten Befehle, meist im aufbewahrten Konzept. Nach dem von der Palastbibliothek herausgegebenen Katalog und meinen Notizen, die ich mir im vorigen Jahre im Archiv machen durfte, sind eine ganze Reihe von einschlägigen Stücken vorhanden. Ich selbst konnte dank dem freundlichen Entgegenkommen der Leitung ein Konvolut von 112 Aktenstücken im Blauahdruck mitnehmen, aus d. J. 1788, grosstenteils in Mandschu, aber auch mit einigen chinesischen und tibetischen Briefen, die ich, mit Genehmigung des Archivs, zu bearbeiten gedenke. Sie sind mir schon für den vorliegenden Aufsatz von Nutzen gewesen. Die Akten der Dynastie haben zum Teil schon ihre Veröffentlichung gefunden: (a) in der bekannten Sammlung *Tung hua suh luh* 東華續錄 von WANG Sien k'ien 王先謙, die gerade die Kolonialpolitik stark berücksichtigt, während (b) die neue Ausgabe von 'Geschichtsmaterial der Ming und Ts'ing Zeit' 明清史料 aus diesem Stoffe wenig, zu unserem Gegenstande im besonderen gar nichts bringt. (c) Die auf den Krieg gegen Nepal bezüglichen Akten sind in einem Sammelwerk zusammengefasst *Kin ting K'uo rh k a ki loh* 欽定廓爾喀紀略, 'chronologisch zusammengestellte Akten über die Gorkha, auf Kaiserliche Verfügung herausgegeben'. Das Werk, das aus 54 Büchern besteht und die Jahre Kienlung 56-58 (1791-1793) umfasst, ist selten. Ich habe es nur in Peking emsehen können. Ein Photonachdruck nach Art des *Ping ting san ni fang loh* 平定三道方略 wäre erwünscht. Teile daraus finden sich in den bekannten Sonderwerken über Tibet *Si Tsang tu k ao* 西藏圖考 und *Wei Tsang t'ung chi* 衛藏通志 abgedruckt. In der Palastbibliothek sah ich ferner eine Handschrift (Fragment), betitelt *Kin ting Pa lo-pu ki loh* 欽定巴勒布紀略, vorhanden 22 Hefte.<sup>3</sup> (d) In dem grossen geographischen Sammelwerk der Mandschuzeit *Siao fang hu chai yu ti tsung shu* 小方壺齋輿地叢書, das so reiches und interessantes Material an Reisebeschreibungen und Privat

<sup>3</sup> s. P. PELLIOU's Bemerkung in TP 29 (1932) 29<sup>a</sup> über die Schreibungen für Nepal im Tibetischen = bal po spal bu

herichten, auch aus den Aussenländern enthalt, findet sich uher Nepal, ausser der unten erwahnten Darstellung von Wei Yuan nur ein kurzer und unhedeutender Aufsatz

B) An Bearbeitungen haben wir (a) Die offizielle Fassung des Berichtes uher Nepal im *Ts'ing shi kao* 清史稿, Buch 213 (Nr 4 der Abteilung 'ahhangige Staaten' 屬國) Offiziell ist die Fassung insofern, als sie, zwar nicht von der Regierung berausgegeben, doch von der amtlichen Kommission des fruheren Staats, der vergangenen Dynastie ahgefasst oder wenigstens vorgearbeitet ist \* (h) Wei Yuan's Darstellung in seiner Geschichte der Kriege der Ts'ing Dynastie, *Sheng wu li*, 1848, ch 5, uhersetzt wie erwahnt von IMBAULT HUART (c) Die Biographien der beteiligten chinesischen Personlichkeiten, wie des Generals Fukanggan u a, in den verschiedenen Biographiensammlungen der Ts'ing Zeit \*

C) Gedenkinschriften zu dem Kriege \*

Die nachfolgend hehandelten beiden Schriftstucke gehoren der Abt A an, sind also eigentliche, primare Quellen Baron v Stael-Holstein hesass die Originale oder die zweite Ausfertigung Ich hahe nach den Photos gearbeitet, die ich in Reproduktion im Anhang biete

Das eine Schriftstuck enthalt eine kurzere Danksagung des Kaisers v 1 3 des 56 Jahres Kienlung (1793) an die Hauptlinge der Stamme Pra ti und Sa ja ri fur Hilfeleistung hei dem Transport der ersten Tributsendung der Gorkha Das zweite ist ein langerer Erlass des Kaisers an den Konig der Gorkha Ratna patur v 29 12 des 58 Jahres (1795) anlasslich der Rueckkehr der Tributgesandten nach Nepal, mit einer angebangten Liste der Gegengeschenke

Mag auch die inhaltliche Bedeutung der beiden Erlasse nicht so gross sein, so rechtfertigt sich ihre Bearbeitung hei dem Wenigen, was wir hisher von chinesischer Seite uher den Gegenstand wissen Der besondere Wert der Schriftstucke hegt im Sprachlichen Wer Gelegenheit gehahrt hat, die Aktensammlungen des chinesischen

\* s meinen Bericht uher das Werk *AM 6* (1929) 403-414

\* Uher ihn s z B *Ts'ing shi kao* 336 *Ts'ing shi l eh-chuan* 26 12a

\* Fine solche findet sich abgedruckt im *Si-Tsang tu-kao* 7

Kolonialministeriums zu sehen, der weiss, was für ein gewaltiger geschichtlicher Quellenstoff darin enthalten liegt. Mit einer selten zu findenden Weitherzigkeit, die wahren wissenschaftlichen Geist verrät, hat man in China die zur Geschichte gewordenen Schätze der Archive auch dem fremden Wissenschaftler zugänglich gemacht und zum Teil schon durch Veröffentlichung der Forschung freigegeben. Es steht zu hoffen, dass auch die Kolonialakten einmal an die Reihe kommen. Damit wurden wir die Möglichkeit erhalten, unsere Kenntnisse von der Geschichte und Kultur Innerasiens im 17. u. 18. Jahrhundert in ungeahntem Grade zu erweitern. Eine Bearbeitung aber wird die Kenntnis der Kolonialsprachen erfordern, des Mongolischen, Tibetischen, Turki und in erster Linie des Mandschu, und zwar der Aktensprache, die sich in ihren Wendungen und Floskeln, aber auch im Sprachschatz, von der Literatursprache etwas unterscheidet—Wir wissen, dass der chinesische Beamte i. A. keine lange Kolonialaufbahn hatte, daher wohl nie der fremden Sprache mächtig war, vielmehr in seinem Stabe den eingeborenen Sekretär hielt. In Peking gab es zwar am Kolonialministerium sprachlich vorgebildete Dolmetscher,<sup>7</sup> es gab Prüfungen für die verschiedenen Sprachen, aber für die lamaistischen Länder wenigstens bediente man sich am liebsten der Hilfe des in Peking residierenden Kirchenfürsten und seiner Lamas—Man versteht, dass bei dem Mangel an europäischen Vorarbeiten auf dem Gebiete der Kolonialakten die Übersetzung noch manche Schwierigkeiten bietet. Aber gerade darum durften Einzelbeiträge auf diesem Felde erwünscht sein, mögen sie auch an manchen Stellen sich später als verbesserungsbedürftig erweisen.

Unsere beiden Erlasse sind in Mandschu und Tibetisch abgefasst. Von dem ersten habe ich nur die tibetische Fassung

<sup>7</sup> Ihre sprachlichen Fähigkeiten darf man bezweifeln. Wenigstens sind die Proben aus früherer Zeit, wie sie in dem *Hua I yü* 華夷譯語 vorliegen, wenig befriedigend.—Nach MAYERS' *Chinese Government* p. 107 hielt der chinesische Resident in Lhasa für den Verkehr mit Nepal einen besonderen Sekretär, *i-t'ing chang king* 夷情章京 genannt.—Die von Seiten der Gorkha ausgesandten Schriftstücke habe ich im Archiv nicht gefunden. Ich sah nur einige, die aus späterer Zeit stammten, prachtvoll ausgestattet und geschrieben in Sanskrit und Persisch, im Katalog als *i tze* 夷字 'Barbarenschrift' bezeichnet.

erhalten Jedoch fand ich zufällig unter meinen Notizen aus dem Archiv den Mandschutext dazu, den ich nun dazu stelle Meine Bearbeitung und Übersetzung folgt dem Mandschu als der Grundsprache und—dem mir besser vertrauten Idiom Der tibetische Text, in starker Kursive geschrieben, ist mir an manchen Stellen unklar geblieben, an einigen ist er offenbar fehlerhaft Die mir untergelaufenen Fehler und Versehen möge die Kritik verbessern<sup>8</sup> Ich bringe zunächst den Text in Umschreibung, in Sätze abgeteilt, das Tibetische unter dem Mandschu Darauf folgt die deutsche Übersetzung Zum Schlusse gebe ich eine Zusammenstellung von Ausdrücken und Floskeln in beiden Sprachen, aus dem Text zitiert

## I, TEXT

- (1) abkai hesei forgon be abha howangdi i hese  
gnam gyi blas rgyal kams tams cad la dban bsgyur bai  
hvan dhi'i bka
- (2) g'arigada i<sup>9</sup> harangga bardı sazarı<sup>10</sup> nıman i dalaha myalma  
de wasimbuha  
ka ri ka tai p yogs gtogs pra ti sa ja ri sdi'i mgo mi la p'abs
- (3) jakan amba jıyaaggiyon aliba bihei da gung Fuk'anggan<sup>11</sup>  
sei baci  
da lta can cun (2) c'en po yig blon gtso bo gun Fu kan 'an  
gyi sa nas
- (4) k'ork'a i jafaha sufan morin burukba<sup>12</sup> g'arig'ada i harangga  
bardı sazarı sere aıman de ısınafi  
gor k'ai p'ul bai glan po c'e dan rta pu rug pa ka ri ka tai  
sdei pra ti sa ja ri i sar sleb nas
- (5) jugon hafirahon ishehyen ofi utbai myalma tucibufi jugon  
dasatabufi  
lam p'ran dog c'e bas (8) 'p'ral du mi btañ nas lam 'c'os sin

<sup>8</sup> Ich hatte für diesen Teil der Arbeit Baron St H s Hilfe erhofft

<sup>9</sup> Chin 噶哩噶達 im *Si Tsang tu-lao* 8 steht das ist das heutige Indien 卽今之印度是也 (also Kalkutta) Es leest dort weiter dass der Tributtransport auf seinem Wege von der nepalesischen Hauptstadt Katmandu nach Tibet einen Umweg über das Geb et der nachgenannten Stämme habe nehmen müssen 由 . . . 部繞道行

<sup>10</sup> Ch n 巴爾底隆雜爾 konnte einen einzelnen Namen darstellen Dann musste die Angabe bei den Geschenken 'je ein Stück' auf mehrere Hauptlinge desselben Stammes deuten

<sup>11</sup> Bei Sylvia n Lévi ist der Name falschlich mit Fou kang (Fu kang) gegeben

<sup>12</sup> Ch n 布魯克巴 = Brug pa, das östlich von Nepal gelegene Land Bhutan

- (6) saikan tuwasatabume zang ni jecen de isibume benjibe babe  
wesimbuhebi  
blta rogs legs pa bcas dbus gtsan gi mt'ai bar-du bskyel c'ug  
pa zus byun
- (7) ere mudan k'ork'a i jafaba sufan morin suweni barangga bade  
isinafi  
da lan <sup>13</sup> gor k'ai p'ul bai glan po c'e dan rta k'yed (4) kyī  
sar t'ug pai 'p'al du
- (8) gīyamun aname sufan morin be sain i ulebume ujime jugôn be  
dasatame nīyalma tucibufi tuwasatabume benjibubengge umesi  
saisacuka  
'ja mo rta zam <sup>14</sup> brgyud nas glan po c'e dan rta skor gsos-  
'ts'o legs sin lam 'c'os pa dan mi btan bas bskyel du c'ug  
pa 'di sin tu bsnags 'os
- (9) bi suweni unenggi gônin be labdu saisame urgunjembi  
nes (5) k'yed kyī gus sems bden pa la bsnags sin dga
- (10) k'ork'a i urse Samarba i <sup>15</sup> gisun de dosifi bôlhidame gobadame  
yabuba turgunde bi amba jiyanggyôn sebe takôrafi baturu  
cooba gaifi weile be fonjume unggihe  
gor k'ai mi rnams Źwa dmar pai gтам la yid c'es bas rmoms  
sin 'c'al spyod rtsoms pai rgyu mts'an gyis nes can cun <sup>16</sup>  
rnams (6) mnags sm pa tur dan dmag c'en <sup>17</sup> btan nas c'ad  
pa k'ur du bcug
- (11) nadan mudan afafi nadan mudan etebe de  
lan bdun yyul 't'ab ste lan bdun gyi rgyal k'a lon
- (12) Ratnabadur Badursaye se sillu menjetele gelefi  
Ratna pa tur dan Pa tur sa ye <sup>18</sup> ts'o sems lhun bas 'jigs-  
s'rag (7) nas
- (13) weile be jabcame hing seme bahaki seme baiha be  
c'ad pa nons kyis k'ur cin gus pas mgo 'dogs p'ul bar zus pas
- (14) bi abkai banjibure de amuran erdemu be dursuleme cembe  
yooni gisabure de jenderakô ofi cenī weile be oncodome gamafi  
dahara be shime gaihō  
nes gnam gyi 'ts'o skyon la c'e bai yon tan gyi dpe 'gre nas  
k'on ts'o ts'ar bar rnas pa la (8) mi bra bas k'on ts'oi c'ad  
pa yans k'rol bas mgo 'dogs la dgons gnan

<sup>13</sup> Im Text *da-lam*

<sup>14</sup> *ja mo* = mongolisch *jam* ཇམ in *ria-zam* Pferde relais རྟ་མཚོ་ཇམ ist *zam* dasselbe Wort  
'*ja-mo rta zam* ist also eine Tautologie = *jam-relais*

<sup>15</sup> Tibetisch *zwa-dmar pa* 'Rotmutzenlama als Beinamen

<sup>16</sup> *can-cun* = chin 常春 tsiang kun Bannergeneral mandschu jiyanggyon

<sup>17</sup> = chin 大兵, 大軍 Kaiserliche Armee

<sup>18</sup> Bei Sylvain LEVI Rana Bahadur Sah und Bahadur Sah Ratna entsprache dem vom Kaiser verliehenen Titel Erdent wang



- (15) te cem jafaha sufan morin be suwe uttu gonin akombume sain i  
benjubuhengge yargıyan i umesi ginggun ıjshon  
da lan<sup>13</sup> k on ts oi p'ul bai glın po c'e dan rta skor la k'yed  
kyis di 'drai bsam pa t'ag pas bskyel (9) du c'ug pa ni nes  
par sun tu britson pa dan mt'un 'jug e'e
- (16) g'ang ada i harangga bardı sazarı aıman i dalaha niyalma de  
boconggo suje emke  
ka ri ka tai p yogs gtogs pra ti sa ja ri sdei mgo-pa la nan  
gos c e ba yug c en gcig
- (17) dardan emke gecuheri suje emke gıtasiko emke amba fadu  
emu juru ajıge fadu dım sangnafi huwekiybure be tuwabuha  
gos ts os gnis ma (10) yug c en gcig gos jus gser ma yug c en  
gcig gos rgyan gzi ma yug e'en gcig k'ug c'en e'a k'ug e'un  
c a gnis gnan sbyın gzens bstod ston
- (18) suwe mini kesi be alifi  
k yed nes kyı (11) gsol ras gtan len zin
- (19) ereci julesı hukseme gonıme eiten de ele gingguleme olhosome  
p'yın e'ad gus pai bsam pas gan byun la bad kyis gus pa  
dan bag zon byas nas
- (20) adaki aıman de howahıyasun gaıme yabu ume balai durıme  
tabılame yabure  
fie bai sder gtogs pa rnams dan yid mt'un byed dgos p'rogs-  
rıgs dan bab (12) sa sogs gtan nas byed mı ruu
- (21) fejergı urse be cıralame bargıyatame kadılame ekısaka banıme  
mini kesi be enteheme alire be kicekıı  
mna og pa rnams la bsdam ra dan mgo 'draı yag po byed  
ran ts od kyis nai gsol ras gtan du bkur ba la britson par  
gyis-sig
- (22) ere hese be ınu Ratnabadur Badursaye de getukeleme ulııbuhe  
cohome wasımbuba  
bka 'dı (13) yan Ratna pa tur dan Pa tur sa ye la gsal bar  
go ses byas c ed du p'abs
- (23) abkaı wehıyehe i susai jakoci amya ılan bıyai ice  
gnam skyon dgun lo na brgyad pai zla ba gsum pai ts'es gcig

# UBERSETZUNG

## EDIKT DES KAISERS

DER IM AUFTRAGE DES HIMMELS DAS REICH ÜBERNOMMEN HAT

Erlaß an die Hauptlinge der Stämme Bardı und Sazarı im Gebiet von Garigada

Kurzlich ist seitens des Grossfeldherrn und Grosseekretars Herzogs Fuk anggan u Gen ein Bericht eingelaufen <sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Enthalten in einer Meldung des Staatsrats vom Tage 辛丑 III Monats d J 58 (1793) s. *Tung hua suh luk* 47

‘Die von den K'ork'a dargebrachten Elefanten und Pferde seien bei den Stämmen Bardi und Sazari im Gebiet von Burukha und G'arig'ada eingetroffen. Diese hatten da (dort) der Weg zu eng und schmal sei, Leute hestellt und den Weg bessern lassen und (den Transport) hestens unterstützend bis an die tibetische Grenze gebracht.’ Dass Ihr bei dem diesmaligen Eintreffen der von den K'ork'a dargebrachten Tribut Elefanten und -Pferde in eurem Gebiet langs der Postlinie die Elefanten und Pferde hestens verpflegt, zur Besserung des Weges Leute hestellt und danach (den Transport) sicher weitergebracht habt, ist höchst lohenswert. Ich freue mich darüber und sage vielmals Anerkennung für eure aufrichtige Gesinnung — Da die K'ork'a Leute sich auf die Worte des Samarha eingelassen und Torheiten und Widersetzhchkeiten begangen hatten, hatte ich den Grossfeldherrn u a beauftrag<sup>20</sup> und mit einer ausgesuchten Truppe hingeschickt, jene zur Rechenschaft zu ziehen. Nachdem er in siebenmaligem Kampf sieben Mal siegreich geblieben, sind Ratnabadur und Badursaye so in Furcht geraten, dass ihnen die Leher zerstückelt war<sup>21</sup>. Sie haben ihre Schuld bedauert und aufrichtigen Sinnes ihre Unterwerfung angeboten<sup>22</sup>. Daraufhin habe ich nach dem Beispiel der Tugend des Himmels, die da auf Erhaltung der Kreatur gerichtet ist, mich nicht entschlossen können, sie insgesamt umzubringen, sondern habe mich bereit gefunden, ihnen ihre Schuld zu vergeben, und ihre Unterwerfung angenommen. Wenn Ihr jetzt die von jenen (als Tribut) dargebrachten Elefanten und Pferde mit solcher aussersten Sorgfalt hestens weiter befördert habt, so ist das wahrlich höchst aufmerksam und ordentlich! Ich habe den Häuptlingen der Stämme Bardi und Sazari im Gebiet von G'arig'ada je ein Stück farbige Seide, je ein Stück gemusterte Seide, je ein Stück gehlumte Seide, je ein Stück goldgestickte Seide, je ein Paar grosse Taschen und vier kleine Taschen geschenkt und ihnen damit Ermunterung gewiesen — Wenn Ihr meine Gabe entgegennimmt, zeigt euch in Zukunft in dankbarer Gesinnung in allen Fällen erst recht aufmerksam und vorsichtig! Haltet Frieden mit den Nachbarstämmen und hegeht keine Ungesetzhchkeiten wie Gewalt und Rauh! Regieret die Untergehenen in strenger Zucht und bemüht euch, durch friedliches Lehen euch meine Gunst stets zu erhalten!

Dieses Edikt habe ich auch an Ratnabadur und Badursaye offen zur Kenntnis gegeben.

Am 1. des dritten Monats des 58. Jahres Kienlung (1793)

<sup>20</sup> Ordre au F s Tung hua ruh-juh l c

<sup>21</sup> Im *Tsing shi kao* steht 膽落心驚

<sup>22</sup> Die Friedensunterhandler erklären vor Fukanggan Ratnabadur sei noch zu jung und toricht 年幼無知 — R s Schreiben in dem er für ewig seine Unterwerfung erklärt 永爲天朝屬下 in chinesischer Übersetzung im *Wei-Tsang tung-chi* 衛藏通志 13

## II A TEXT

- (1) abkai heset forgon be aliba (2) howangdi i hese  
guam skyou huan ti
- (2) k ork a aiman i erdeni wang Ratnabadur de wasimbuha  
kor k ai sdei e rti m wan Ratna pa tur la bka p ab pa
- (3) Ratnabadur si dahinjila ci ebsi eiten de toktobuha kooli (3)  
kemun be tuwakiyame gunggun ujishon i doro be akombuha  
bime  
Ratna pa tur k yod kyi gus 'dud pvas pa nas bzun gau cir  
beug pai srol la guas sin skm tag pa nas lugs srol dañ mt un  
nos
- (4) ere mudan mini beye soorin de tehe ninju aniyai (4) amba urgun  
i doro cohome wesimbure bithe wesimbume albabun jafame  
da lta ned rin po e ci k rir k'od de lo drug cu bzugs (2) pai  
dga srog pa e ed du bul tu zu jig dan 'bul br
- (5) geli aniyai kooli wesimbure bithe albabun be (5) suwakiyame  
g aji Narhing dalaha nyalma Madusaye de afabusi gungguleme  
tukiyame ibebuihengge srasachu  
gzan jan lo dus su bul dgos kyi zu jig dan bul br dan e ab  
geig tu ga ci Nair<sup>23</sup> sin dan mgo pa Ma tu si je guis e'ed du  
muag pa k o pa guis kyi gus beug e en poi ned la gus pas  
p'ul ba la bsuags par os sin
- (6) sin wesimbuhe bithe de sin beye ne (6) bahardafi aiman i baita  
be beye yooni jafasame ichiyambi sebe babe bi tuwafi umesi  
urgunjembu  
(3) ned la pul pai zu jig tu k'yod da lta dar la pabs sin  
ran sdei mgo dog gyi bya br k yod ran gau dan du blaus  
pa yig zes zus pa tams erd pas ned kyi t ugs sin tu dgyes
- (7) tusalakei gung Badursaye aiman i (7) baita be wang Ratna  
badur de afabusi Badursaye jukteben de nomun holame tebe  
seme wesimbuhe be saha  
t u sa lag ci<sup>24</sup> kun Pa tur sa ye nas ran sdei bya ba rnams  
wan Ratna pa tur la gtad de Pa tur sa ye lna k an la guas  
te (4) ran cos dog kyi yod ze zus pa ned gyi dgous par  
pros
- (8) onggolo Ratnabadur si se asigan i (8) fonde Badursaye aiman i  
baita be sa n i ichiyaha bime  
snar Ratna pa tur k yod lo pra bai skabs-su Pa tur sa ye  
ran gi sde bai don skad legs par sgrub zin

<sup>23</sup> Im Text e ne Falschschreibung<sup>24</sup> Das mongolische Wort *tusalakei* der Helfer von mir hier übersetzt mit *Minister*.  
Der T tel entspricht wohl dem chin 輔國公 *mandschu gurun de aulara gung*

- (9) te Ratnabadur sı habardafi Badursaye uthai aıman ı baita be wang (9) Ratnabadur smde joolame afabuhangge umesi gıyan de acanababi  
da Ita Ratna pa tur k'yod dar pai dus su slebs zin pas Pa tur sa ye nas ran sdei don skor wan Ratna pa tur k'yod la gtad gi<sup>2</sup> (5) lugs srol dan sin tu gt'us (1 mt'un?)
- (10) Ratnabatur sı te beye baita jafasame ichiyaha be dahame ereci Julesı (10) ele minı kesı be bukseme gıngguleme olhosome fafun sajin be dabame yabukını  
Ratna pa tur k'yod dnos kyis don-<sup>25</sup> rnams sgrub par byas pa ned kyı bka drın spri bor mgos sin<sup>26</sup> sün nas gus pas sgrım te rgyal srid kyı lugs srol dan k'rims la gnas dgos
- (11) adaki aıman de bowalıyasun gaime yabu fejergı urse be gosı (11) aıman ı dorgı baita be gıyan fıyan ı ichiya sını ecike Badursaye-ı nenebe gungge faısan be gonime gosime tuwasata k'yod ran gı sde dan ne bai sde pa gzag snams (6) dan mt'un pa dan mna 'og gı mı snams la byams sin ran sdei bya barnams kyan lugs srol dan mt'un pa dan k'yod kyis 'a k'u Pa tur sa ye nas snar sed p'ud pa legs par bsag te p'an grogs gos sin
- (12) Badursaye ını gıyan ı (12) barangga wang nı hôturi be alme mutere be kiceme amban oho niyalmai dorı be ıkômbuci acambi  
Pa tur sa ye nas kyan (7) ran gı wangı bsod nams la bdren<sup>27</sup> pas sed 'byıgs nı 'os pai gnas yig pas mı rabs kyı bya ba yig
- (13) te g'ajı Nairbing sebe hargasabufı (13) ududu mudan sarılabı kemunı hesı bithe wasımbure dorı wang Ratnabadur gung Badursaye de hacingga jaka sangnaha  
da re ga-cı Nair sin sogı ned kyı zal mjal dan srog mod yan yan bcal zin bka bzıg wan Ratna pa tur dan (8) kun Pa tur sa ye gūs la gsol ras gyı nos po sna ts'ogs pa stsal zin
- (14) onggolo suwe albabun (14) jafara de Badursaye gemu wang Ratnabadur be dahalame uhei emu ubu albabun jafaba bihe snar k'yod rnams kyis gus 'bul byed pai skabs su Pa tur sa ye dan wan Ratna pa tur lban tu 'bul ba ts'ar gcıg yig kyan
- (15) ere mudan Badursaye enculeme wesımbure bithe wesımbure (15) albabun jafahangge koolı de acanarakô ofi Badursaye-ı jafara jaka be bargıyara dorı ako an ı g'ajı Nairbing sede afabufı aması gamabuha  
da lan Pa tur sa ye nas sgor du (9) zu yig dan 'bul ba p'ul ba nı lugs srol dan mı t'un pas Pa tur sa ye p'ul bai dnos

<sup>25</sup> Im Text *dog*<sup>26</sup> Unklar *spri* I *spro*<sup>2</sup><sup>27</sup> Von *'dren-pa* to fetch?

po rnams ned nas bzis pai 'os ma yin pas dños po rnams  
 ji bzin par ga ci Nair sin sogs la sprad pas k'o pa ts'os k'yer  
 son

- (16) (16) tuttu hucihe Badursaye i bing sere unenggi gônin be mini  
 beye bulekuşefi an i kooli songkoi hacingga jaka sangnafi wang  
 Ratnabadur de sangnaha (17) jaka be suwaliyame g'aji Nairhing  
 sede afabufi gamabuha

(10) de ltar yin kyan Pa tur sa ye k'yod ned la gus pa lhur  
 blans pa ni ned kyi t ugs pa dan 'p'rod cin ned nas sin srol  
 ltar gnan shyin kyi dnos po sna ts'ogs pa dan wan Ratna  
 pa tur la gnan hai dnos po dan lhan du p'o fia pa Nair sin  
 (11) sogs la sprad yod

- (17) jakai ton be amala arahabi isinaha manggi teisu tesu gingu  
 leme alime (18) gaisu

btsal bai gnan shyin kyi dnos po rnams kyi t'ams cad gśam  
 gsal ltar ran ran so so nas gus pas mnos sin

- (18) g'aji Nairhing de jai jergi jingse tojin funggala Madusaye de  
 ilaci jergi jingse tojin funggala amba dalaha jakon niyalma  
 de gemu sunjaci jergi jingse ajige dalaha sunja niyalma de (19)  
 gemu ningguaci jergi jingse sangnafi kemuni teisu teisu etuku  
 adu junggin (20) suje i jergi jaka menggun sangnaha

ga ci Nair sin la go pa ril pa gñis pai tog dan rma byai sgro  
 btsal<sup>22</sup> Ma to sa ye la (12) ril pa msum pai tog dan rma  
 byai sgro btsal mgo ba brgyad po sor ril pa lna pai tog dan  
 mgo c'un pa lna po sor ril pa drug pai tog dan yan so sor gyon  
 pa dan gos c'en dnul sogs btsal sin

- (19) dahalara niyalma coobai ursede mu teisu teisu suje boso  
 menggun sangnaha cemhe hacingga efin (21) tuwai efin tuwa  
 buha

yyog po dmag (13) mi sum cu po so so la gos c'en ras dnul  
 bcas btsal yod k'o pa rnams la ltad mo sna ts'ogs pa dan  
 me cod rnams<sup>23</sup> ltar bcug pa yin

- (20) mimi beye soorin tebe tuktan de teni orin sunja se tere fonde  
 gunguleme (22) dergi abka de henghileme aika soorin de ninju  
 aniya teme muteci utbai sirara jui de ulame afabumbi seme  
 jalbariha bihe

ned snar rin po c'en k'ri la tog mar bzugs skabs dgun lo  
 fi su rtsa lna la p'ebis (14) sin de skabs gnam la btud de  
 ned dgun lo drug cui rin la k'ri c'en por bzugs te ran gi sras  
 la go 'p'an c'en po gtad do zes gsol ba btab pa bzin

<sup>22</sup> Von stol ba, to grant bestow? Die Kursivschreibung des Wortes im Text ist  
 nicht immer ganz gleichmassig

<sup>23</sup> = me-rtsed? tuwai efin Feuerwerk

- (21) te (23) dergi ɽbkai gosire kesi be alifi soorin de ninju aniya tefi jakonju sunja se obo daci jalbariha crehe gôninde acabuba turgunde  
 gnam gyis mgon byas pas dgun lo drug cu rin la k'rir bzugs sin da lta ran lo (15) brgyad cu gya lna lon pa ned kyis snar gsol ba btab pa dan smon pai don bzi grub te
- (22) (24) fulgiyan muduri aniyai aniya biyai ice de soorin be bowang taze de ulafi saicungga fengsen i sucungga aniya seme halafi mini beye (25) ten i dergi hōwangdi seme tukichebi ere yala julgeci ebsi tongga bisire baita  
 me p'o 'brug gi gnam lo gsar bai ts'es pa gcug la ned kyi go-  
 'p'au c'en por bian t'ai ei dban bskur te mts'an la Kya cin  
 gnam lo dan po byas ned (16) ran la hvan t'i gon mai gon  
 ma zes bsnags sin 'di lta bu ni snon c'ad byun ba yin gsis  
 rmad du byun ba yin
- (23) mini beye enteke golmin jalafun de isinaha be dīhame (26)  
 nadanju se ci wesihun ambasa hafasa coohai igrése be isabufi  
 sarilara de elcin Naithing ebe suwaliyame sarin de dosimbufi  
 sangnafi (27) wesihun dorolon be tuwabuha  
 ned guu lo ts'e rin ba 'di lta gur gyur pa la da lta lo bdun  
 culon pa yan c'ad kyī blon po rag zan mag mī 'bans beas (17)  
 dga ston la ts'ogs pa dan Nair sin sogs p'o ſia pa <sup>20</sup> rnam  
 kyan dga ston du c'ud par byas te gsol ras kyī bka drin  
 t'ob par byas pa ni, srol bzau po 'di lta su mt'on beug pa yin
- (24) ubabe cohōme suweni aiman de ulhibure ci tulgiyen ereci Julesi  
 abkai fejergi eiten baita jai tulergi (28) aiman i baita be sirara  
 hōwangdi gemu mini jorisame tacibuha be gingguleme dahame  
 ichiyame yaya bilume gosire kesi isibure bacin gemu fe (29)  
 kooli be dahame yabumbi  
 rgyu mts'an 'di dag k'yod p'yogs kyī sde mī rnam kyis go-  
 bai c'ed yin pas (18) den nas bzun ste slan c'ad gnam 'og gi  
 bya byed dan p'yī sde ris so soi bya byed t'ams-cad k'ri  
 la gsar bzugs hvan t'i ned kyī bka hcal bzun bsgrub rgyu  
 dan bka drin gsol ras la reg 'os pa dag la sna srol bzau gnan  
 rgyu dan
- (25) suweni aiman i an i fe doro be tuwaliyame zang ni jecen i  
 ergide ekisaka banjime beser takōraha ambasai toktobuha (30)  
 kooli kemun be dahame tondo necin i hodasakin  
 k'yod kyī mī sde rnam snar lugs su gnas te dbus gtsan gyi  
 sa mts'ams (19) p'a rol ran gnas dgos ned nas mnag pai  
 'an pan <sup>21</sup> kyī bslab bya dan du slaṅs te sems ran por ſie  
 ts'egs dan sñoms c'un dus gnas sin 'ts'o bar gyis sig

<sup>20</sup> p o-ſia pa Gesandter (*elcin*) ob dem nepalesuschen? Worte *g aji ga* ci entsprechend?

<sup>21</sup> = mandschu *amban*

- (26) fejergı urse be cıralame bargıyatame kadalamе baita dekdе  
burako obume enteheme ujen kesi be<sup>21</sup> alire be kicekini  
ran gi ma an 'og gi mı sde rnams la bslab bya legs paı sgo nas  
'os mın gyı spyod pa byed ma 'rgyug<sup>22</sup> gus brıson c'en poi  
sgo nas ned kyı bka drın c'en po la reg (20) pa gyıs
- (27) jai suwenı aımaı umesi goro g'ajı Nairbing se marıfı gamaba  
kesi ısıbume sangnaha jaka hacın be Ratnabadur sı (32) alımе  
gaiha manggi cobotoı kesi de henghileme nıyalma takorara  
albabun jafara be baıburako  
ga cı Nair sıı ran p yogs su 'byor pa dan ned kyıs bıtsal baı  
gnan sbıyn rnams Ratna pa tur k yod gus pas mınor pa dan  
lam bgrod sıa tu rın pas gsol ras la gus p yag 'bul mı c'ed du  
gtogs mı dgos
- (28) damu wesimbure bıthe arafı zang de tebe (33) ambasa de  
benııbıfı ulame wesimbukıı  
k yod rnams kyıs zu yig brıs te 'am pa la sprad nas ned la  
zur c'ug
- (29) sırame damu fa koolı be dahame sunja anıya emu mudarı  
wesimbure bıthe wesimbume albabun jafame nıyalma (34)  
takorakıı  
slan (21) cad lo lna re nas zu yig dan 'bul ba lan re 'bul mı  
c'ed du gton dgos zes bka p abs pa mı
- (30) mını jılame gosıre ten ı gonın de acabume yabu ume heoledere  
cohome wasımbuha  
k'yod rnams la t'ugs rıe ts'ad med pa 'dı lta buı zes ga bar  
gyıs sig lo for ma sor par gyı sig  
ces c'ed du bka p'abs pao
- (31) abkai wehyeıe ı nııııııı anıya jorgon bıyayı orın uyun  
(gnam skyon dgun lo drug bcu poi dgun zla t'a c'un ts'es  
fıer dgu)<sup>23</sup>

## II B

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (a) wan Ratna pa tur la gnan ba                   | 5 gos c'en ts'os gñıs ma yug bzi              |
| 1 yan tı'ı <sup>24</sup> zu yı <sup>25</sup> gıgı | 6 p'e-rın gı <sup>26</sup> gos c'en gser skud |
| 2 nal gyı 'p ron ba gıgı                          | ma yug bzi                                    |
| 3 gos c'en ts'os mı 'dra ba yug                   | 7 gos c'en k'a t'ı <sup>27</sup> yug bzi      |
| c'en fıı bcu rtsa bzi                             | 8 gos gzi 'jam spus rai ma yug                |
| 4 gron <sup>28</sup> dvan yug (2) bzi             | (3) bzi                                       |

<sup>21</sup> rgyu?<sup>22</sup> Das Datum steht in der Geschenkliste<sup>23</sup> = yaı trı.<sup>24</sup> = chin 如 此<sup>25</sup> ?<sup>26</sup> = (persisch) ferengi = frankisch<sup>27</sup> = k a-drı (spr ~ tı) ?

9 gzi jam spu<sup>38</sup> ris mai gdan  
rgyu brgyad  
10 dnul sran<sup>39</sup> lna bcu don mo  
gcig  
11 dnul sran lna bcu slan sder  
gcig  
12 yan ti i snod spyad gñis  
13 c'u sel (4) gyi snod spyad gñis  
14 rdo mc on gi snod spyad gñis  
15 ku ku sai<sup>40</sup> snod spyad gñis  
16 sel gyi snod spyad gñis  
17 dkar yol yu rin c'a gñis  
18 dkar yol gyi snod spyad gñis  
19 dkar yol la p'or gzugs c'a gñis  
20 snod spyad (5) brkos<sup>41</sup> ma  
gñis  
21 sñug gi snod spyad gñis  
22 k'ug ma c'e-ba c'a gñis  
23 k'ug ma c'un ba c'a gñis  
24 ja dam pe<sup>42</sup> brgyad

(b) *kun Pa tur sa-ye la gnan ba*

1 yan ti'i sku brñan gcig  
2 yan ti i ma c'i zi'i bsal ba gcig  
3 gos (6) yug c'e ba bcu  
4 k'a t'i yug gñis  
5 gos ts'os gñis ma yug gñis  
6 p'e rin gi gos gser skud ma yug  
gñis  
7 kin t'u'u<sup>43</sup> yug gñis  
8 gzi jams spu ris ma yug gñis  
9 gzi jams spu ris mai gdan rgyu  
gñis  
10 dnul sran (7) fi sui don mo  
gcig  
11 dnul sran fi su'u<sup>44</sup> slan sder  
gcig  
12 yan ti i snod spyad gcig

13 cu sel gyi snod spyad gcig  
14 rdo mc'ou gi snod spyad gcig  
15 ku ku sai snod spyad gcig  
16 (8) sel gyi snod spyad gcig  
17 dkar yol gyi snod spyad gcig  
18 dkar yol yu rin c'a gcig  
19 dkar yol la p'or gzugs c'a gcig  
20 snod spyad brkos ma gcig  
21 (9) sñug gi snod spyad gcig  
22 k'ug ma c'e ba c'a gcig  
23 k'ug ma c'uu ba c'a gcig  
24 ja dam pe bzi

(c) *p'o na pa c'e ba Nair sin la  
gnan ba*

1 gos k'a t'i yug (10) lna  
2 gzi jam spu ris ma yug lna  
3 gos pa pi<sup>45</sup> yug lna  
4 gos wu pi<sup>46</sup> yug lna  
5 dnul sran brgyad  
6 sel gyi snod spyad bzi  
7 dkar yol gyi snod spyad bzi  
8 ja dam (11) pe drug

(d) *p'o na pa gñis pa Ma tu sa-  
ye la gnan ba*

1 k'a t'i yug bzi  
2 gzi jam spu ris ma yug bzi  
3 gos pa pi yug bzi  
4 gos wu pi yug bzi  
5 dnul (12) sran drug bcu  
6 sel gyi snod spyad gsum  
7 dkar yol gyi snod spyad gsum  
8 ja dam pe bzi

(e) *mgo ba bdun la gnan ba*

1 mi mgo so sor<sup>47</sup> ka t'i yug  
gsum re

<sup>38</sup> = chin 氈 chan Filz Wolle | 氈 chan-pu?

<sup>39</sup> Im Texte falschlich *sran*

<sup>40</sup> chinesisches?

<sup>41</sup> Von rko gravieren

<sup>42</sup> pe?

<sup>43</sup> chin king tu 京都

<sup>44</sup> es su i?

<sup>45</sup> Chinesische Seidenart?

<sup>46</sup> Chinesische Seidenart?

<sup>47</sup> Im Text *pa por*



2 gzi (13) 'jam spu ris ma gsum  
re  
3 gos pa pi yug gsum re  
4 gos wu pi yug gsum re  
5 dnul sran bzi bcu re  
6 sel gyi snod spyad gñis re  
7 dkar yol gyi snod spyad gñis  
re

8 ja (14) dam pe gsum re

(f) mgo pa c'uñ ba lna la gnan ba

1 mi mgo so sor ka t i yug gñis  
re

2 gzi 'jam spu ris ma yug gñis re  
3 gos pa pi yug gñis re  
4 gos wu pi yug gñis re  
5 dnul sran sum cu re  
6 sel gyi snod spyad re re  
7 dkar-yol gyi snod spyad re re  
8 'ja dam pe gñis re

(g) *yyog po dmag mi sum cu so  
sor* <sup>47</sup> gnan ba

1 mi mgo so sor dnul sran bcu re  
2 ris yug gñis re gnan

## UBERSETZUNG

### II A

VERFÜGUNG DES KAISERS DER IM AUFTRAGE DES HIMMELS DAS REICH  
UBERNOMMEN HAT (2), ERLASSEN AN DEN EDEL-PRINZEN <sup>48</sup>  
DES K'ORK'A STAMMES RATNADADUR

(3) Du, Ratnabadur, hast, seitdem du dich unterworfen, in jeder Weise die festgesetzten Brauche und Regeln beachtet und in Ehrfurcht und Gehorsam die Pflichten erfüllt (4) So hast du auch dies Mal als Glückwunsch zur Sechzigjahrfeier meiner Thronbesteigung eigens <sup>49</sup> ein Eingabe an mich gerichtet und Tribut dargebracht, (5) weiter den G'aji Nairbing und den Minister Madusaye beauftragt, mit der Glückwunschadresse zugleich den Tribut herzubefordern zur ehrfurchtigen Überreichung, wofür ich meinen Dank ausspreche (6) Ich lese dass du in deiner Eingabe schreibst, du habest jetzt, nachdem du herangewachsen, selbst die Geschäfte des Staates vollständig in eigene Hand und Regelung übernommen Das freut mich sehr (7) Die Meldung dass der Minister Herzog Badursaye die Geschäfte des Staates (dir) dem Prinzen Ratnabadur übergeben, und dass Badursaye zum Lesen der heiligen Schriften in einem Kloster Wohnung genommen hat, <sup>50</sup> nehme ich zur Kenntnis (8) Vordem, als du Ratnabadur noch jung warst, hat Badursaye die inneren Angelegenheiten des Staates bestens besorgt (9) Wenn jetzt, wo du Ratnabadur erwachsen bist,

<sup>48</sup> Als vom Kaiser verbehener Titel ist 王 besser mit 'Prinz' als mit 'König' zu übersetzen mit dem Prädikat Erdem kostbar edel

<sup>49</sup> Also eine Sondergesandtschaft nach der ersten Tributsendung

<sup>50</sup> Tatsächlich hatte der junge Prinz seinen Oheim mit Gewalt aus der Regentschaft verdrängt um ihn bis an sein Lebensende gefangen zu halten und war trotzdem vom Kaiser bestätigt worden

Badursaye sogleich die Staatsgeschäfte an dich, den Prinzen Ratnabadur ehrerbietigst abgegeben hat, so ist das höchst korrekt von ihm! (10) Nachdem du Ratnabadur nunmehr selbst die Geschäfte in die Hand und Regelung genommen hast, mogest du künftighin erst recht in dankbarer Vergeltung meiner Gunst sorgfältig und peinlich nach Recht und Gesetz verfahren! (11) Halte Frieden mit den Nachbarstämmen! Sorge für die Untertanen! Verwalte die inneren Angelegenheiten des Staates in aller Ordnung! Nimm freundliche Rücksicht auf deinen Oheim Badursaye im Gedenken an seine früheren Verdienste! (12) Badursaye seinerseits muss nach besten Kräften die Untertanenpflichten erfüllen, um für das Heil des rechtmässigen Königs zu sorgen. (13) Ich habe jetzt den G'aji Nairhing und seine Leute in Audienz empfangen und mehrmals bewirtet,<sup>51</sup> weiter, gemäss dem Brauche bei der Übergabe eines Kaiserlichen Erlasses, dem Prinzen Ratnabadur und dem Herzog Badursaye verschiedene Geschenke gemacht. (14) Bei eurer früheren Tributüberreichung hatte Badursaye mit dem Prinzen Ratnabadur zusammen einen Tributteil dargebracht. (15) Dass dies Mal Badursaye gesondert eine Eingabe eingereicht und Tribut dargebracht hat, entspricht nicht den Vorschriften<sup>52</sup> Daher wäre es unpassend, die von Badursaye (mir) bestimmten Geschenke anzunehmen. Ich habe sie demgemäss der Gesandtschaft des G'aji Nairhing wieder zugestellt und zurück gehen lassen. (16) Trotzdem habe ich selbst, voller Verständnis für Badursaye's aufrichtige Gesinnung, gemäss den eigentlichen Vorschriften (ihm) Geschenke verschiedener Art gemacht und sie zusammen mit den Geschenken für Prinz Ratnabadur an den G'aji Nairhing zur Mitnahme übergehen. Eine zahlenmässige Liste der Gegenstände ist hinten aufgezeichnet. Nach Eintreffen nehmet (die Gegenstände gemäss der Liste) Stuck für Stuck sorgfältig in Empfang!

Dem G'aji Nairhing habe ich den zweiten Rangknopf und die Pfauenfeder, dem Madursaye<sup>53</sup> den dritten Rangknopf und die Pfauenfeder, den acht höheren Führern allen den fünften Rangknopf und den fünf niederen Führern allen den sechsten Rangknopf verliehen. Weiter habe ich ihnen noch jedem besonders Gewänder, gemusterten Stoff, Seide und dergl. sowie Silber geschenkt. Dem Gefolge und den Soldaten habe ich auch, jedem einzelnen, Seide, Leinen und Silber geschenkt und habe ihnen allerhand Schauspiel und Feuerwerk vorgeführt. Als ich eben den Thron bestiegen hatte, war ich gerade

<sup>51</sup> S. dazu Ts'ing-shi kao I c I Monat d J 58 (1793).

<sup>52</sup> Offenbar hatte Badursaye es ermöglicht, eine eigene Mission mit Geschenken und einer Beschwerde nach Peking zu schicken, auf die der Kaiser aber nicht einging.

<sup>53</sup> Im Tibetischen Text an dieser Stelle = *Ma-to sa-ye* geschrieben, in der Geschenkliste = *Ma-tu sa-ye*.

funfundzwanzig Jahre alt Damals hatte ich ehrfurchtig dem hohen Himmel geopfert und gelobt Wenn es mir gelänge, sechzig Jahre auf dem Thron zu sitzen, dann wurde ich ihn dem Nachfolgesohn weitergeben Jetzt habe ich durch die buldreiche Gnade des hohen Himmels sechzig Jahre auf dem Thron gesessen und bin dabei funfundachtzig Jahre alt geworden Weil mein einstiges Gebet und Hoffnung sich erfüllt bat, habe ich am 1 1 des Jahres "Roter Drache" <sup>53</sup> den Thron an den Kronprinzen weitergegeben, ihm (dem Jahre) die neue Bezeichnung Erstes Jahr des "ruhmenswerten Heils" <sup>54</sup> gegeben, mir selbst aber den Ehrentitel "Hoher Altkaiser" <sup>55</sup> Das ist wahrlich eine Begebenheit, wie sie seit Alters her nur selten vorkommt In Anbetracht dessen, dass ich selbst zu einem so langen Lebensalter gelangt bin, habe ich die Grosswurdenträger, Beamten und Militarmannschaften von siebenzig Lebensjahren aufwärts versammelt und bewirtet und dazu den Gesandten Nairhing u Gen mit eingeladen, ihnen Geschenke gegeben und hohe Ebrung bezeigt Dies (alles) gebe ich eigens eurem Staate kund Im ubrigen wird künftighin alle Reichsangelegenheiten sowie die Angelegenheiten der ausländischen Staaten der Nachfolgekaiser regeln, alles in genauer Befolgung meiner Hinweise und Belehrungen Alle Einzelheiten der Fursorge und Gunstbeweise wird er sämtlich gemass den alten Vorschriften ausfuhren Euer Staat soll weiter in Beobachtung der alten Ordnung an den Grenzen Tibets in Ruhe leben und in Befolgung der Verordnungen und Beschränkungen, wie sie von den Kaiserlich bevollmächtigten Grosswurdenträgern bestimmt sind, redlich und friedlich seinen Handel treiben Er soll sich bestreben, durch strenges Inzuchtnehmen (seiner) Untergebenen und Verhütung von Zwischenfällen sich (unsere) wertvolle Gunst zu gewinnen! Noch Eines Euer Staat liegt sehr weit entfernt Da ist es nicht nötig dass du, Ratnabadur, nach Entgegennahme der von dem G'aji Nairhing u Gen heimgebrachten verschiedenen Geschenke noch besonders jemand mit Dankerstattung und Tributüberreichung beauftragst Du sollst nur einen (Bestätigungs) Brief schreiben und ihn an die Grosswurdenträger Residenten in Tibet schicken zur Weiterleitung und Einreichung Du sollst dann weiter nur gemass den alten Verordnungen in fünf Jahren einmal einen Boten schicken zur Überreichung des (Ergebenheits) Schreibens und Abgabe des Tributs Verhalte dich dankbar für meinen hohen Sinn der Gute und des Wohlwollens und sei nicht saumig! Besonderer Erlass Am 29 12 des sechzigsten Jahres Kienlung (1795)

"丙辰

"嘉慶 Kia-k ing

"高上皇帝

II B, LISTE DER GESCHENKE <sup>57</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (a) Geschenke an Prinz Ratna                 | 10 grosse Stuck Seide                       |
| pā-tur                                       | 2 Stuck Halstucher                          |
| ein Szepter aus Jade                         | 2 Stuck farhige Seide                       |
| ein Edelsteingehänge                         | 2 Stuck europäische Seide mit Goldstickerei |
| 25 grosse Stück verschiedenfarhiger Seide    | 2 Stuck king-tu'u (-Seide, 京都?)             |
| 4 Stuck Atlas                                | 2 Stuck Woll (decken?)                      |
| 4 Stuck zweifarhiger Seide?                  | 2 Wolldecken mit Mustern?                   |
| 4 Stuck europäischer Seide mit Goldstickerei | eine Vase von 20 Unzen Silber               |
| 4 Stuck seidene Halstucher                   | eine Schale von 20 Unzen Silber             |
| 4 Stuck Wolltucher . . . ?                   | ein Jadegefäss                              |
| 8 Woll . . . ?                               | ein Kristallgefäss                          |
| ein Vase? von 50 Unzen Silber                | ein Gefäss aus klarem Edelstein?            |
| 2 Jadegefässe                                | ein Gefäss aus ku-ku-ša                     |
| 2 Kristallgefässe                            | ein Kristallgefäss                          |
| 2 Gefässe aus klarem Edelstein?              | ein Porzellangefäss                         |
| 2 Gefässe aus ku-ku-ša                       | 2 Paar Porzellan . . . ?                    |
| 2 Glas?-gefässe                              | ein Paar Porzellanteller                    |
| 2 Porzellan . . . ?                          | ein graviertes Gefäss                       |
| 2 Porzellangefässe                           | ein Bamhusgefäss                            |
| 2 Paar Porzellanteller                       | ein grosser Beutel                          |
| 2 gravierte Gefässe                          | ein kleiner Beutel                          |
| 2 Bamhusgefässe                              | 4 Teekannen?                                |
| 2 Paar grosse Beutel                         | (c) Geschenke an den 1. Gesandten Nairhing  |
| 2 Paar kleine Beutel                         | 5 Stuck Seidenhalstucher                    |
| 8 Teekannen?                                 | 5 Stuck Wolltucher mit Mustern?             |
| (b) Geschenke an Herzog Badursaye            | 5 Stuck pā-pi-Seide?                        |
| eine Buddhafigur aus Jade                    | 5 Stuck wu-pi-Seide?                        |
| ein . . . ? aus Jade                         | 80 Unzen Silber                             |
|  | 4 Kristallgefässe                           |

<sup>57</sup> Die Feststellung der Waren war in manchen Fällen nicht möglich. Ich musste mir versagen, auf sprachliche und sachliche Fragen dieser Liste näher einzugehen. Die chinesische Liste habe ich in der einschlagigen Literatur nicht finden können. Im *T'ing-shi kao l c* werden als Tributgeschenke rahme Elefanten 馴象, tibetische Pferde 番馬, vier Stück mit Sattelzeug und Zubehör 五匹鞍轡全 aufgezählt, als Gegengeschenke von Fukanggan bei den Friedensverhandlungen 錦緞各四匹 = für jeden vier Stück Brokat-atlas. Im *Wei Tsang t'ung-chi* Buch XIII findet sich eine Liste mit 金花緞一匹, 布一匹, 青氈片一方, 裏面兩色氈一方 = ein Stück Atlas mit Goldmustern, ein Stück Baumwolle, eine graue Wolldecke, eine Wolldecke mit zweifarhiger Innenseite (Futter?)

5 Porzellangefasse

6 Teekannen?

(d) Geschenke an den 2. Gesandten Ma-tu sa-ye

4 Halstücher

4 Wolltücher mit Mustern?

4 Stuck pā-pi Seide?

4 Stuck wu-pi-Seide?

60 Unzen Silber

3 Kristallgefasse

3 Porzellangefasse

4 Teekannen?

(e) Geschenke an die 7 Oberführer

pro Kopf je 3 Stuck Halstücher

je 3 Wolltücher mit Mustern?

je 3 Stuck pā-pi-Seide?

je 3 Stuck wu-pi-Seide?

je 40 Unzen Silber

je 2 Kristallgefasse

je 2 Porzellangefasse

je 3 Teekannen?

(f) Geschenke an die 5 Unterführer

pro Kopf je 2 Stuck Halstücher

je 2 Stuck Wolltücher mit Mustern?

je 2 Stuck pā-pi Seide?

je 2 Stuck wu-pi-Seide?

je 30 Unzen Silber

je ein Kristallgefäss

je ein Porzellangefasse

je 2 Teekannen?

(g) Geschenke an die 30 Begleitsoldaten, für jeden einzelnen

pro Kopf je 10 Unzen Silber

je 2 Stuck Baumwolle zu schenken

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Aus dem Schreiben des chinesischen Kaisers spricht äusserste Zurückhaltung. Er weiss wohl Bescheid um die inneren Verhältnisse im nepalesischen Staate, denkt aber nicht im Entfernten an eine Einmischung und eine nähere Verbindung mit dem Reiche als die lose Tributbeziehung. Wir wissen, dass es die weise Politik des Ts'ing-Reiches war, sich um die inneren Angelegenheiten der fremden Länder und anwohnenden Stämme nicht zu kümmern. Die letzte Dynastie hatte, anders als die mongolische, anders auch als ihre Vorgängerin, die Ming, keinen Eroberungssinn gezeigt, nach der Einnahme des chinesischen Reiches. Zu der Erwerbung ihres gewaltigen Kolonialbesitzes wurde sie durch politische Notwendigkeit gedrängt. Es war in erster Linie hier bestimmend ihre Schutzberrschaft über die lamaistische Kirche, auf die sie—schon mit Rücksicht auf ihre alten Kampfer, die mongolischen Kontingente im Bannerverbände, nicht verzichten konnte. Darum ging der grosse Krieg mit den Dsungaren. Die Ausdehnung der Herrschaft über die riesigen mongolischen Steppenländer, die

Festsetzung im Tarimgebiet, die militärische Besetzung des lamaistischen Kirchenstaates Tibet war eine Folge dieses einen Krieges Durch Unvorsichtigkeit oder Nachlässigkeit des Kolonialbeamten-tums sowie der militärischen Posten wurden später neue Kriege an den Grenzen beraufbeschworen Solche Unternehmungen widerstrebten der Politik der Dynastie, schon weil sie die Hauptlast des Kampfes den Bannertruppen auflegten, zudem bei deren hoher Besoldung bedeutende Kosten erforderten So gab es kaum einen schwereren Vorwurf für Beamte und Generale, als den, Zwischenfälle mit den Eingeborenen zu verschulden Einen solchen Vorwurf muss sich, in den von mir eingesehenen Akten des Jahres 1788 im Falle der Gorkha der General Kinglin machen lassen — Dass eine strikte Instruktion der Zurückhaltung, der blossen Politik des politischen und militärischen Prestige 威 aber nicht genugte und gerade erst oft zur Vertuschung von Zwischenfällen, zur Haufung von Übergriffen seitens der Eingeborenenstämme und damit schliesslich umso sicherer zum Kriege führte, dafür ist neben anderen gerade der Gorkha-Feldzug ein Beispiel

## ANHANG

Aus dem Sprachschatz (tibetisch mandschu)

### I

gnam gyi bkas = abkai heser = im Auftrage des Himmels  
 rgyal k'ams t'ams cad la dban bsgyur ha = forgon be aliha  
 天運 (奉天承運) der das Reich (im himmlischen Auftrage)  
 uhernommen hat  
 mgo mi = dalaha niyalma = Vorgesetzter  
 c'ed du p'ahs = cohome wasimbuba = eigens verfügt  
 can cun c'en po amba jyanggyon Grossfeldherr 大將軍  
 yig hlon gtso bo = aliha bithei da = Grossekreter 大學士  
 sa nas = haci = von Seiten  
 rogs legs pa hcas saikan tuwasatahume = hestens hehutend  
 zus hyun = wesimhuhe ein solcher Bericht liegt vor  
 da lan = ene mudan = dies Mal  
 'ja mo rta zam hrgyud nas = giyamun aname = langs der Postlinie  
 sin tu hsnags 'os = umesi saisacuka höchst lobenswert  
 hsnags sin dga = saisame urgunjemhi = ich gehe meiner Anerkennung  
 und Freude Ausdruck

- pâ-tur dmag-c'en = baturu cooba = Eliteheer 大軍, 大兵.  
 c'ad pa k'ur-du bcug = weile be fonjume unggihe = er sandte eine Strafexpedition.  
 c'ad pa nons kyis k'ur ciñ = weile be jabcame = seine Schuld bereuend.  
 mgo-'dogs = dahambi = sich unterwerfen.  
 p'ul-bar zus pa = baiha = er machte ein Gesuch.  
 mgo-'dogs la dgons-gnan = dabara be alime gaiba = er nahm die Unterwerfung an.  
 bsam pa t'ag pas = gônin akômbume = seinen Sinn erschöpfend (aufrichtig).  
 gsol-ras gtan-len = kesi be alimbi = Gnade entgegennehmen.  
 p'yin-c'ad = ereci julesi = in Zukunft.  
 p'rogs-rigs dan bab-sa sogs = balai durime tabcilame yabure = Räubereien, Streit u. dergl.  
 mna-'og pa rnams = fejergi urse = die Untergebenen.  
 gsal-bar go-ses byas = getukeleme ulhibuhe = klar kundgegeben.

## II

- bka p'ab pa = wasimbuba = eine Verfügung ist ergangen (einleitend).  
 bka p'abs pao = wasimbuba (als Abschluss).  
 srol la gnas sin = kooli kemun be tuwakiyame = die Bestimmungen heachtend.  
 lugs-srol dan mt'un nas = doro he akômbuba bime = die Regeln restlos erfüllt habend.  
 'bul-dgos kyî zu-yig = wesimhure hitbe = Eingabe.  
 'bul-tu zu-yig.  
 lo dus = aniyai kooli = Jahresfest (Jubilaum).  
 sdei bya-ba-rnams = aiman i baita = die Staatsangelegenheiten.  
 sde-bai don-skad = aiman i dorgi baita = die inneren Angelegenheiten des Staates.  
 lugs-srol dan sin-tu gt'us = umesi giyan de acanababi = ist sehr korrekt.  
 ned kyî zal-mjal = hargasabufi = ich habe sie in Audienz empfangen.  
 nos po sna-ts'ogs pa beal zin = hacingga jaka sangnaba = ich habe verschiedenerlei Geschenke gemacht.  
 gus-'bul byed pa = albabun jafara = Tribut darbringen.  
 sgor-du zu-yig = eine besondere Eingabe  
 lugs-srol dan mit-t'un = kooli de acanarakô = entspricht nicht dem Brauch  
 'os ma-yin = doro akô = ist nicht angangig.  
 sna-srol ltar = an-i kooli songkoi = gemäss dem eigentlichen Brauch.  
 dnos-po-rnams kyî t'ams-cad = jakai ton = Liste der Gegenstände.  
 gšam-gsal ltar = amala arahabi = ist hinten geschrieben.

- 1 ... ..
- 2 ... ..
- 3 ... ..
- 4 ... ..
- 5 ... ..
- 6 ... ..
- 7 ... ..
- 8 ... ..
- 9 ... ..
- 10 ... ..
- 11 ... ..
- 12 ... ..
- 13 ... ..



30

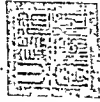
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མཚན་པོ་



མཚན་པོ་

མཚན་པོ་

མཚན་པོ་

- ran gı sras = sıraı jui = der Nachfolger = Sohn  
 gnam lı btud de = abka de bengkileme = sich vor dem Himmel ver-  
 beugend  
 smon paı don bzı grub = erehe goninde acanaba = dem Wunsche ent-  
 sprochen  
 me-p'o 'brug gı gnam lo = fulgıyan mudurı anıya = Jahr des roten  
 Drachen  
 gnam go gı bya byed = abkaı feıergı eiten haita = alle Angelegenheiten  
 des Reiches  
 p'yi'ı sde rıs so soı hya byed = tulergı aıman ı baita = die Angelegen-  
 beiten der Aussenstaaten  
 sna srol hıın gnan = fe koolı be dabame = nach dem alten Brauch  
 sa mts'ams p'a rol = jecen ı ergide = über der Grenze  
 nes nas mnag poi 'an pan = hesı takôraha amhasa = die Kaiserlichen  
 Residenten  
 bsıab hya = toktohuha koolı = festgesetzte Brauche  
 mı dgos = baıburakô = ist nicht notwendig  
 ned la zur c'ug = ulame wesimbukını = Ihr sollt es mir berberichten  
 ma sor-par gyı sig = ume heoledere = seid nicht säumig!

## NOTES DE MYTHOLOGIE BOUDDHIQUE

### 1 YAKSA ET GANDHARVA DANS LE MAHASAMAYA SUTTANTA

J PRZYLUKI ET M LALOU

Le *Mahasamaya suttanta*, 20<sup>e</sup> recit du *Digha Nikaya* en pali, a été traduit en tibétain et un texte analogue qui portait le même titre a été traduit en chinois. D'autre part, il a existé un sutra comparable, intitulé *Mahasamaya*, dont l'original est perdu, mais dont nous possédons une traduction tibétaine et une traduction chinoise. La présente étude se réfère à ces cinq textes que nous distinguons par les abréviations suivantes

- Samaya P* *Mahasamaya* en pali, *The Digha Nikaya*, ed Pali Text Society, vol 2, p 253-62
- Samaya T* *Mahasamaya* traduit en tibétain, *'Dus-pa čhen-po'i mdo*, Kanjur, Mdo, ed Narthang, vol a, f° 559
- Samaya C* *Mahasamaya* traduit en chinois, *Tch'ang a han*, Tripiṭaka, ed de Tokyo, 12, 9
- Samaya T* *Mahasamaya* en tibétain, *Mdo čhen-po 'dus-pa chen po : mdo*, Kanjur, Rgyud, ed de Pékin, vol ba, f° 159
- Samaya C* *Mahasamaya* en chinois, Tripiṭaka, ed de Tokyo, 12, 10, 86<sup>e</sup> cl 1

Deux autres textes sont utilisés 1<sup>o</sup>) *Ātanatiya* en pâli, *Digha Nikaya*, vol 3, p 204, 2<sup>o</sup>) *Mahamayuri-vidyarañi* en sanskrit, en tibétain et en chinois dont nous abrégons ainsi les titres

- Mayuri S* = édition du texte skt par S d Oldenbourg, *Zapiski de la Société Orientale d'Archéologie*, 11, 1897-98, p 236-7
- Mayuri T* version tibétaine, Kanjur, Rgyud, ed de Narthang, vol pa f° 40
- Mayuri C*<sup>1</sup> Tripiṭaka, Tokyo, 27, 7, 50<sup>e</sup> cl 9
- Mayuri C*<sup>2</sup> = *ibid* 63<sup>e</sup> cl 3
- Mayuri C*<sup>3</sup> *ibid* XXV, 6, 73<sup>e</sup> cl 13

La classification des génies dans le *Mahāsamaya* est caractérisée par le fait que *yakkha* et *gandhabba* forment deux catégories nettement tranchées: les § 7 et 8 de *Samaya P* énumèrent et localisent les chefs des *yakkha*; le § 9 nomme successivement les quatre Grands Rois qui commandent aux *gandhabba*, aux *kumbhanda*, aux *nāga* et aux *yakkha*; les deux premières lignes du § 10 nomment les sorciers des Grands Rois et l'éditeur de *Samaya P* aurait dû rattacher ce fragment au § précédent; la suite du § 10 énumère les chefs des *gandhabba*. *Gandhabba* et *yakkha* sont également séparés dans l'*Ātānātiya*; les premiers sont mentionnés au § 4, les autres au § 7. Toutefois le § 9 fournit une curieuse indication. Il peut arriver, lit-on, que certains génies qui n'obéissent pas aux quatre Grands Rois viennent molester les religieux. Il faut alors recourir à de puissants seigneurs: *yakkha*, *mahāyakkha*, *senāpati*, *mahāsenāpati* dont la liste est donnée au § 10. Ainsi l'insubordination est prévue et ceci semble indiquer que l'autorité des quatre Grands Rois ne s'est pas établie d'emblée mais qu'il a fallu un certain temps pour qu'elle fût reconnue d'une manière définitive. La comparaison des textes va permettre de suivre l'évolution des mythes.

*Ātānātiya* § 10 énumère: Indo, Somo, Varuno, Bhāradvājo, Pajāpati. . . Ces cinq noms désignent l'état-major des divinités védiques. Vient ensuite, sans modification, la série des chefs de *gandhabba* de *Samaya P*: Candano, Kāmasettho, Kinnughandhu, Nighandhu, Panādo, Opamañño, Devasūto, Mātali,<sup>1</sup> Cittaseno<sup>2</sup> *gandhahho*, Naḷorājā, Janesabho;<sup>3</sup> puis deux noms portés par des *yakkha* dans *Samaya P*: Sātāgiro, Hemavato, suivis encore de vingt-deux noms parmi lesquels on reconnaît à première vue ceux de divers *yakkha*: Punnako, etc.

Ainsi la liste des chefs de génies dans *Ātānātiya* § 10 comprend les noms de cinq divinités, plus une liste de *gandhabba*, plus des noms de *yakkha* et néanmoins tous ces personnages sont désignés

<sup>1</sup> Mātali est un yakṣa dans le *Catalogue des Yakṣa de la Mahāmāyūrī*, vers 93, éd. Sylvain LÉVI, JA, Janv.-Fév. 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Dans le *Catalogue des Yakṣa*, vers 99, 1, Citrasena est le yakṣa qui reside au Vokkhāṇa.

<sup>3</sup> C'est le même personnage dont le nom apparaît plus loin en tibétain sous la forme Rgyal ba khyu-mēhog (Jinarābha, cf *Catalogue des Yakṣa*, vers 85).

par les termes. *yakkha*, *mahāyakkha*, *senāpati*, *mahāsenapati* qui semblent définir avec une précision croissante la qualité des personnages: tous sont non seulement des *yakkha*, mais de grands *yakkha* (*mahāyakkha*), c'est-à-dire des chefs (*senāpati*) et même de grands chefs (*mahāsenapati*). En employant ainsi *yakkha* avec une valeur très générale, le Bouddhisme ancien prolonge sans doute la tradition védique qui assignait au mot *yaksa* le sens d'être merveilleux et puissant;<sup>4</sup> dans les anciens *sutta* du Canon pâli, *yakkha* sert encore à désigner Indra et les autres dieux.<sup>5</sup> Mais, d'après le *Mahābhārata*, le texte développé de la grande épopée est récit d'abord chez les dieux par Narada, puis par Śuka aux *gandharva*, *yaksa* et *rākṣasa* (*Mahabhar.*, I, 1, v. 106). Ici les *deva* occupent un séjour distinct, mais les *gandharva* et les *yaksa* sont dans la même zone.

Voici la liste des chefs de génies dans *Samāja T*: Dban-po (Indra), Zla-ba (Soma), Čbu-lba (Varuna), Bbāradvāja, Skye-dgu'i bdag (Prajāpati), Dban-lan (Īśāna), Can-dan (Candana), 'Dod-gco (Kāmasreṣṭha), Mgrin-nan (Cou-mauvais: Kukantha?), Mgul-nes (Cou-ferme),<sup>6</sup> Spobs (Māni),<sup>7</sup> Nor-bu (Mani), Nor-

<sup>4</sup> Dans *RV* 7, 61, 5, GELDNER traduit ce mot par "Blendwerk, Zauber" BOTES, *JA* 10<sup>e</sup> s 7, 396 et 476, le rend par "apparition" HILLEBRANDT, *Festgabe R v Garbs*, p 20, admet que dans *Kaus* 95, 2, *yaksa* a "die Bedeutung des Zauberkraften, unheimlichen Wesens" Ces interprétations et celle de HERTEL ont été discutées par Jarl CHARPENTIER dans *Brahman*, Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1922, p 29 34 La question a été reprise par A K COOMARASWAMY (*Yakas* 2, p 2 et 3) qui distingue dans les plus anciens textes une double attitude à l'égard du *yaksa* d'une part, crainte et dégoût (*RV* et *Kausika Sutra*), d'autre part, respect (*AV* et *Upanisad*)

<sup>5</sup> *Majjh Nik* 1, 252, *Samyutta Nik* 1, 206, cf *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* 9, p 297

<sup>6</sup> Ces deux noms "Cou-mauvais" et "Cou ferme" correspondent dans la liste de *Mayūri T*, f° 59<sup>a</sup> à Mgrin nan et Mgul med Les deux noms sont écrits en sanskrit *Kumkanta* et *Nikanta*, mais le vers étant laux, l'éditeur a supposé une lacune entre les deux noms, lacune dont la version tibétaine ne confirme pas l'existence La forme *Mgul med* prouve que les Tibétains ont compris *Nikanta* "Sans Cou" et on est tenté de donner le même sens à *Mgrin nes* malgré la position de *nes* qui, avec le même sens privatif que *skt ni/nik* est généralement le premier élément d'un composé Dans *Suvarnaprabhāsa*, 20<sup>e</sup> le'u de la version tibétaine (Ötani 175), manuscrit Bacot, f° 163 a l 3, on lit, dans une liste de *yaksa*, le vers suivant Nor bu'i mgul dan Nes-mgrin dan, et au passage correspondant, le *Suvarnaprabhāsa* sanskrit donne les formes *Maṇikanta* et *Nikanta* (cf ms 157 du fonds sanskrit de la Bibl Nationale, f 81<sup>a</sup>)

<sup>7</sup> *Spobs* est l'équivalent habituel de *skt pratibhāna* Les autres listes ont à cette

spyod (Manicara), Sgra-rab (Pranāda), Ņe-lna (Upapañca), Ri-mñam (Montagne semblable: Samagiri),<sup>8</sup> Gser-čan (Haimavata), Gan-po (Pūrṇa), Sen lden-pa (Khadira),<sup>9</sup> Gyon-čan (Kovida), Gnod-sbyin ba-skyon (Gopāla yaksa), 'Brog-gnas (Atavī), Rgyal-ba khyu-mchog (Jinarsabha), Mi rgyal-po (Nara-rāja), Dri za sna-chogs sde (Citrasena gandharva), Lčags-mdun-rin (Dīrghasakti), Ma-lḍan (Mātali), Chigs lna-ser-po (Pañcālaganda),<sup>10</sup> Yid dga' (Manoratha) Gnod-sbyin rin-po (Dīrgha yaksa), 'Bras-bu gsum (Triphala), Mgul gsum-pa (Trikāṇṭhaka).<sup>11</sup>

On notera une première innovation: la présence d'Īśāna. Après Mgul-nes le désaccord paraît complet; pourtant, bien qu'il y ait quelques additions et que l'ordre soit différent, il est clair que la liste de *Samāja T* reproduit de nombreux éléments d'*Ātānāṭiya* § 10.

La liste de *Samāja C* est analogue: 印捺囉 *In-na-lo* (Indra), 謨 *Mou* ([So]ma); 喲嚨拏 *Fou-lou-na* (Varuna), 鉢囉惹鉢帝 *Po-lo-je-po-ti* (Prajāpati), 婆囉拏喲惹 *P'o lo na-fou-je* (Bhāradvāja), 伊舍曇 *I-che-nang* (Īśāna), 贊難曇 *Tsan-nan-nang* (Candana), 迦麼悉里瑟吒 *Kia mo-si-li che-tch'a* (Kāmaśreṣṭha), 俱爾建吒 *Kiu-ni-kien-tch'a* (Kumkāṇṭha), 俱建吒 *Ni-kien tch'a* (Nikāṇṭha), 滿尼 *Man-ni* (Māni), 摩尼 *Mo-ni* (Mani), 摩尼左囉 *Mo-ni-tso lo* (Manicara), 鉢囉拏那 *Po-lo-na-na* (Pranāda),

place un personnage nommé Vadi (*Māyuri S*) ~ Va ri (*Mayuri T*) La transcription Man ni de *Samaja C* suggère un original Mani

<sup>8</sup> *Mayuri S* donne la série Mani, Manicara, Pranada, Upapañcaka, Satāgiri. Ce dernier nom est traduit dans *Mayuri T* par la même forme Ri mñam, Sātāgiri se retrouve dans *Samaya P* et *Mayuri C*<sup>2</sup> donne la glose "Montagne-égale"

<sup>9</sup> *Mayuri S* donne la série Haimavata, Purnaka, Khadirakovida qui est traduite en tibétain Gser-čan dan/ Gan po dan/ Sen lden pa dan/ Gyon-čan dan, c'est à-dire que dans *Māyuri T*, comme dans *Samaja T* Khadirakovida est séparé en deux éléments *Samaja C* transcrit K'iu ni lo et Kiu wei tch'a

<sup>10</sup> *Mayuri S* donne la série Jinarsabha, Pañcālaganda, Sumukha, etc et ces deux derniers noms sont traduits en tibétain Chigs lna ser-po dan/ Bzin bzang dan "Cinq-nœud jaune et Visage-beau" Pañcālaganda est nommé deux autres fois dans *Mayuri S* (p. 236) parmi les mahayaksasenāpati qui, quatre par quatre, protègent les régions et dans le *Catalogue des Yaksa*. Dans les deux cas il est certain que Pañcālaganda ne peut être coupé en deux. Mais *Mayuri C*<sup>2</sup> suggère Pañcālacanda (glose "méchant, redoutable" et Pañcālacanda est attesté dans *Ātānāṭiya*. Dans *Samaja T*, Chigs-lna-ser-po reparait à la même place

<sup>11</sup> Glose, dans *Mayuri C*<sup>2</sup>, par "Trois Epines" Trikāṇṭaka

鳥波半左迦 *Ou-po-pan-tso-kia* (Upapañcaka), 娑多毘里 *So-to-i-li* (Sātāgiri), 海摩嚩多 *Hai-mo-fou-to* (Haimavata), 布囉拏 *Pou-lo-na* (Pūrṇa), 佉囉囉 *K'iu-ni-lo* (Khadira), 俱尼吒 *Kiu-wei-tch'a* (Kovida), 虞波羅藥叉 *Yu-po-lo-yo-tch'a* (Gopālayakṣa), 阿吒嚩俱 *A-tch'a-fou-kiu* (Ārjavako), 𑖦囉囉惹 *Nang-lo-lo-je* (Nālarāja), 囉囊里沙婆 *Ni-nang-li-cha-p'o* (Jinarṣabha), 唧怛囉細曼囉咄里嚩 *Tsi-ta-lo-si-nang-yen-t'o-li-fou* (Citrasenagan-dharva), 囉里伽設帝 *Ni-li-kia-che-ti* (Dīrghaśakti), 摩多隸 *Mo-to-li* (Mātali), 半左囉嚩拏 *Pan-tso-lo-yen-na* (Pañcālagandha), 蘇謨 *Sou-mou* (Sumu[kha]), 摩曼 *Mo-nang* ([Su]mana), 彌里[怛]具 *Milī[ta]-kiu* (?) .

Enfin, la même liste se retrouve en sanskrit, avec peu de modifications, dans la *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*: Indra, Soma, Sūrya, Varuna, Prajāpati, Bhāradvāja, Śrīśāna, Nandana, Kāmasreṣṭha, Kunikantha, Nikanṭhaka, Vadi, Mani, Manicara, Pranāda, Upapañcaka, Sātāgiri, Haimavata, Pūrṇaka, Khadirakovida, Gopālayakṣa, Ārjavako, Nārārāja, Jinarsabha, Pañcālagandha, Sumukha, Dīrghayakṣa, Citrasena, Triphalī, Trikanṭhaka, Dīrghaśakti, Mahāśakti, Tricūli, Mātali.

Sūrya paraît en troisième lieu, après Indra et Soma, mais ce nom manque à la traduction tibétaine. L'édition d'Oldenbourg donne Nandana, tandis que dans le manuscrit de la Société Asiatique on lit Candana, comme dans toutes les listes, et c'est bien la forme qu'ont traduite les Tibétains.

Ainsi nous avons quatre listes de grands chefs, notées avec une fixité assez satisfaisante, dans un texte pâli, une traduction tibétaine, une traduction chinoise et un original sanskrit. Ces matériaux permettent de contrôler la façon dont les noms sont conservés dans la tradition pâlie.

Les cinq premiers dieux sont communs à toutes les listes. Candana et Kāmasreṣṭha sont donnés partout d'une manière correcte, mais par la suite il y a divergence et les noms pâlis semblent parfois assez mal conservés. Par exemple, Kinnughandhu et Nighandhu de *Samaya P* sont probablement deux noms ayant un élément commun et différenciés par un préfixe. C'est précisément ce qu'on trouve dans la *Māyūrī* où le préfixe *ku-* distingue deux noms en *nikantha*. On est par conséquent tenté



de rétablir en pâli, à côté de Nighandu, Kunighandu au lieu de Kinnughandu.

On constate une nouvelle divergence entre les formes pâlies et non pâlies pour le couple suivant: *Samaya P* donne Panādo, Opamañño; Panādo = Pranāda est attesté dans toutes les listes, mais entre Opamañño du pâli et Upapācika que donnent *Samāja T*, *Samāja C* et *Māyūrī* il est difficile de choisir. En effet, Upapācika est clair, mais Opamañño est attesté comme le nom du gōtta du brahmane Pokkharasādi dans *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 200.

La suite de la liste d'*Ātānātiya* § 10 contient les noms suivants: Punnako, Karatiyo, Gulo (ou Guḷo). Punnako est clair, mais les deux autres noms sont obscurs. La comparaison avec la tradition non pâlie permet d'éclairer au moins une des formes. *Samāja C* transcrit Pūrna, Khamira, Kuvita. *Samāja T* traduit Gan-po (Pūrna), Sen-liden-pa (Khadira), Gyon-čan (Kovida). *Māyūrī S* a Pūrnaka, Khadirakovida, que *Māyūrī T* traduit, exactement comme *Samāja T*, Sen-liden-pa et Gyon-čan. Ici encore il faut probablement donner la préférence à la tradition non pâlie.

Un problème se pose. Puisque dans certains textes *yaksa* et *gandharva* sont énumérés séparément, tandis qu'ailleurs ils entrent ensemble dans la liste des grands *yaksa*, il faut choisir entre les deux explications suivantes: ou bien *yaksa* et *gandharva* étaient primitivement distincts et ils ont ensuite été confondus, ou bien *yaksa* était d'abord un terme général dont la valeur s'est précisée lorsque les *gandharva* se sont séparés des *yaksa* pour former une catégorie à part.

Dans *Samaya P*, *yaksa* et *gandharva* sont distincts. L'*Ātānātiya* cite les quatre Grands Rois, puis laisse entendre qu'ils ne sont pas toujours obéis: c'est donc que leur autorité n'était pas encore fermement établie. La liste des chefs auxquels on avait recours en cas de carence des Grands Rois représenterait alors un ancien pouvoir auquel se serait tardivement substitué celui des quatre Grands Rois.

Cette manière de voir permet d'expliquer tous les faits. Dans la série composite, les dieux védiques constituent l'état-major des grands *yaksa* et sont eux-mêmes des *yaksa* au sens large, de sorte

que ce terme designe a la fois Indra, Varuna, etc , les futurs *yakṣa* au sens etroit et les futurs *gandharva* Plus tard, *yakṣa* et *gandharva* forment deux troupes distinctes commandees chacune par un Grand Roi Si la liste composite etait plus recente, on ne comprendrait pas pourquoi des genies distincts ont ensuite ete confondus ni pourquoi les anciens dieux de la mythologie vedique seraient venus tardivement se mettre a leur tete

Comme on l'a vu plus haut (p 42, 45), la mythologie bouddhique a evolue dans le meme sens que celle des brahmanes, c'est a dire que le mot *yakṣa* a ete affecte a une categorie plus restreinte d'etres sacres D'autre part, on a deja montre que la mythologie bouddhique s'est constituee peu a peu en etageant sur des plans superposes des personnages divins qui etaient a l'origine sur le meme plan<sup>12</sup> Dans la serie composite Indra, roi des *deva*, est sur le meme plan que les genies non encore differencies, tandis que dans la hierarchie canonique les *yakṣa* et les *gandharva* soumis a l'autorite des Grands Rois occupent un plan inferieur a celui d'Indra La serie composite est donc plus ancienne que la mythologie canonique

Voici comment on peut se représenter les choses La liste des *yakṣa*, *mahayakṣa*, *senapati*, *mahasenapati* d'*Āṭanatiya* § 10 est le temoin d'une ancienne mythologie ou les dieux vediques, les *yakṣa* et les *gandharva* etaient encore confondus dans les rangs d'une meme armee Plus tard la classification des genies se precise ils sont divises en quatre groupes soumis a quatre Grands Rois qui president chacun a l'un des quartiers de l'espace Au dessus d'eux, les *deva*, commandes par Indra, occupent un etage distinct Cette nouvelle hierarchie etait deja reconnue quand le *Mahasa-maya* et l'*Ātanatiya* furent rediges, mais l'ancien etat de choses n'etait pas encore oublie et, a cote d'une description conforme a la classification canonique, subsiste une liste archaïque qui rappelle le temps ou *deva yakṣa* et *gandharva* n'etaient pas encore separees

<sup>12</sup> Cf J PRZYLUSKI *Brahma sahaṃpati*, JA Juil-Sept 1904 p 155-63

# THE PREAMBLE TO THE SAṂGHARAKṢITĀVADĀNA

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It is well known that the *Divyāvadāna*, edited at Cambridge in 1886 by E. B. COWELL and R. A. NEIL, presents many textual problems which force us to turn to Tibetan and Chinese versions of the same tales for enlightenment. Because it recalls the first associations with one of my regretted *maîtres*, Baron von Staël-Holstein, I am undertaking in this paper to elucidate a textual problem evoked by the *Samgharakṣitāvadāna*, which occupies pp. 329-348 of the *Divyāvadāna*.

This story and the two very short ones which follow it in the *Divyā*<sup>2</sup> are best known in the West through E. BURNOUR's *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 280-299, published at Paris in 1876. BURNOUR indicated to his readers that there was a preamble to the story, but he failed to remark that it was so fragmentary and incomprehensible that translation was impossible. My efforts, therefore, are directed towards the reconstruction of this preamble. Ordinarily, this would be a very simple task requiring the comparative translation into English of a Tibetan and a Chinese text both of which had been translated from the same Sanskrit. In the present instance the work is rendered very difficult because that portion of the Chinese version of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinvinaya*<sup>4</sup>, from which most of the *Divyā*'s stories have been extracted, is missing. I-CHING's work (義淨, 根本說一切有部毗奈耶出家經 *Taishō* No. 1444, vol. 23. 1035B-1037C29) begins at a point corresponding with *Divyā*<sup>5</sup> p. 334, line 13. Witness is born to the popularity of this story, however, by the presence in the Chinese *tripitaka* of a separate *sūtra* telling the tale of *Samgharakṣita*. I refer to the *Fo r'uo yin yūan Séng-hu ching* 佛說因緣僧護經, assigned to the Chin period (265-419 A.D.), but for which no translator's name has been preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. HUBER, *BEFEO* 4. 709-725, S. Ién, *TP* 8 (1907)-105-122, and also *II* 1907 (vol. I) 141, 333.

This is No 749 in the *Taisho tripitaka*, vol 17 565C-572B. I have made a rough translation of this version, but I am publishing here only the portion bearing upon the preamble, for the rest of the story follows the Sanskrit rather closely. As further evidence of popularity it should be noticed that this version, without the preamble, has been quoted almost *in extenso* in TAO SHIH's (T'ang Dynasty) *Fa yuan chu lin* 道世,法苑珠林 ch 92 (*Taisho* No 2122, vol 53 964C-969C).

The only Tibetan edition of our text completely at my disposal is the Narthang edition of the *Kanjur* (vol 1), to which the indications of page and line refer. The Derge edition at the Library of Congress has been available for collation from p 143a7 (98a1 of Derge). The red Peking edition at Paris was used for pp 139b7 143a7 (pp 95a 97a of Peking). The Tibetan text, as here printed, is the result of the collation of these different editions, but only rarely has it been deemed necessary or interesting to record variant readings, most of which are merely different or phonetic spellings. The Narthang edition is generally considered to be the best, although it is sometimes marred by errors, as judged by our dictionaries, which must be corrected on the basis of the Derge and Peking editions. The use of the bars of punctuation (*cad*) varies greatly, and no effort whatsoever has been made to record these differences.

The stories reproduced below will recall "The Serpent who wanted to be a Priest" translated by Henry Clarke WARREN in his *Buddhism in Translations* (HOS 3) §82, p 401.

## Chinese Translation

Thus have I heard One time when the Buddha was at Sravastī in the Anāthapīṇḍada garden (with a company of bhīkṣus numbering 80,000 and hodhīsattvas to the number of 36,000),<sup>2</sup> a certain nāgarāja from the great ocean, having conceived faith, changed himself into a man and came into the garden. He besought the bhīkṣus to let him enter the monastic life. Then the bhīkṣus, who did not know that he was a naga, made him a monk. A certain bhīkṣu shared his room [with the naga]. When the first night had passed, maintaining a dignified manner, they went at dawn to the city to beg their food. Then the naga bhīkṣu, as a reward for his merit or because he went to his own palace, succeeded first in begging his food. After eating, he returned early, for it is a requirement that after a monk has eaten he shall enter his room, and, collecting his thoughts, shall sit in contemplation.

Then the naga bhīkṣu forgot to close the door. Nagas are by nature very somnolent, and the weather was hot. There are five conditions under which a naga cannot conceal his [real] person: (1) at birth, (2) at death, (3) when lustful, (4) when angry, (5) when asleep, these are the five. At this time the naga monk could not conceal himself, he fell asleep and his person filled the room. When the monk who shared the room returned and saw the naga's body filling up the whole room, he was greatly frightened, and went quickly away speechless. He then called the monks: "Reverend Sirs, there's a nāgarāja here, there's a nāgarāja here!" The naga, on hearing the loud cry, awoke and became a monk again, and sat cross-legged in contemplation. Because the cry was loud, a large group gathered and asked the youthful bhīkṣu why he raised a cry. The bhīkṣu replied: "There's a naga in my room." Then the whole group [566A] gathered together and entered the room; but saw no naga, they merely saw a bhīkṣu sitting cross-legged in contemplation.

Then, being greatly surprised and not understanding the reason, they went straightway to inquire of the Buddha. After relating the above facts they begged him to dispel their doubts. Then

<sup>2</sup> The Korean edition does not contain the parenthesis.

the Bhagavat addressed the bhikṣus This is not a man, it is a nāgarāja You may go summon [him] The bhikṣus received the instruction, and summoned the nāgarāja When the nāga-bhikṣu had come up to where the Buddha was, he bowed and sat down to one side The Buddha then preached for them explaining what was profitable and pleasing When the Buddha became silent, the nāgarāja reflected within himself and rejoiced Then the Buddha, to calm the distress [of the other monks], said to him You may return to your place When the nāgarāja heard that, he wept with grief After bowing to the Buddha's feet and circumambulating the Buddha three times, he departed When half-way home, the thought occurred to him Although I may never again enter the monastic life, I will play the part of a *danapati* among the Buddhists and build a monastery, and offer the four things [TING I'U PAO 丁福保, 佛學大辭典 765 上: clothes, food, beds, and medicines, or shelter, clothes, food, and medicines] Thus thinking, he created along a desolate road a monastery [with] running springs, bathing pools, and parks and groves for the promenade, which were very quiet There was no hubbub of crowds of men Day and night one might saunter there Furthermore, there were no bugs, ants, mosquitoes, or gadflies; no cold, no heat—they came there benignly mixed, no grief and suffering He invited a saṃgha Clothing, food, beds, medicines, the necessities, were all entirely sufficient The vinayadhara bhikṣus again and again reproved, and the nāga monk, who did not understand the sutras and the commandments, became sullen each time and thought to himself I have offered everything in sufficient quantities, but the bhikṣus are reproved for it Then he caused the monastery to disappear

Going away to a desert place, he again created a monastery [with] halls, groves, and springs—not unlike the previous one Again he invited a saṃgha and offered the four things Then the saṃgha said to the nāga bhikṣu The saṃgha's stores are too abundant It is a requirement for the builder of a monastery that he should come and announce to the saṃgha the quantity [of the stores] Then the nāga replied As a matter of fact these are not the saṃgha's possessions If you look at the inscription [on the

articles] you will read: Made for [the samgba]. All are mine. It is hard to give things to present-day monks. Since this is so, and since I have little patience with the idea, at midnight I will destroy the monastery and return to my palace.

### Tibetan Text and Translation <sup>24</sup>

[139b7] saṅs-rgyas bcom-ldan-bdas mñan-yod-na rgyal-byed-kyi tshal mgon-med-zas-sbyin-gyi kun-dgaḥ [140a1] ra-ba-na bshugso || klu-rnams-kyi kuntu-spyod-pa ni lus-la ñin-mo hye-ma mehi mdog lta-bu lan gsum hhab ciñ | des de-dag rus-pahi keñ-rus tsam [140a2] shig lus-par byed-do || klu gsbon-nu skyes-nas riñ-po ma lon-pa shig-gis lus-la ñin-mo hye-ma mehi mdog lta-bu lan gsum hhab ciñ | des de rus-hahi keñ-rus tsam shig lus-par [140a3] byas-ha dañ | des ma-la smras-ha | ma bdag-gis yun-ji-srid-cig-tu sdug-bsñal bdi lta-bu man-gas-par<sup>25</sup> bgyi htshal | bu ji-srid ris mthun-pa<sup>26</sup> yod-kyi bar-duho || de-nas klu [140a4] rdsu-hphrul che-ba dañ | mthu che-ba gshan gañ-dag yin-pa de-dag-gi lus-la bye-ma mehi mdog lta-bu mi hbabs-nas | des smras-pa | ma hdi-dag-la cihi-phyir mi hhab | mas smras-pa | [140a5] hdi-dag-ni rdsu-hphrul

[1. 139b7] The Buddha Bhagavat was at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana, the pleasure-grove of Anāthapīṇḍada. [140a1] It is customary among the nāgas that when the colors of the day, of sand, and of fire have appeared three times on their bodies, then there is left of them only [140a2] a bone skeleton. When a young nāga, having been born and having had shortly afterwards the color of the day, of sand, and of fire appear on his body three times, remained only a bone skeleton, [140a3] he said to his mother: Mother, I inquire how long such misery must be undergone. Son, as long as you are here. Then [he noticed that] on the bodies of other nāgas [140a4] who were possessed of great magic and great witchcraft there was no color of sand or fire, and he said: Mother why do they not appear on them? The mother

<sup>24</sup> The writer is deeply indebted to Professor W. E. Clark for invaluable aid in the preparation of this translation

<sup>25</sup> *man-gas* is probably based upon an *upaVbhañj* which is an error for *upaVbhuj*, "to experience"

<sup>26</sup> I have not found *ris mthun-pa* elsewhere It equals something like *saloka*, *sadeśa*

che-ba mthu che-ba bskal-par  
 gnas-pa | sa-hdsin-pa hdab-  
 chags-kyi rgyal-po hdab-bzañs-  
 kyis dbyuñ-bar mi nus-pa yin-  
 pas | dehi-phyir hdi-dag-la mi  
 hbab-po | [140a6] de-na klu  
 phra-mo gshan gañ-dag yin-pa  
 de-dag-gi lus-la yañ bye-ma  
 mehi mdog lta-bu mi hbab-nas |  
 des smras-ba | ma hdi-dag-la-ni  
 rigs na hdi-dag-la cihi phyir mi  
 hbab | mas [140a7] smras-pa |  
 hdi-dag-gis bcom-ldan-hdas-kyi  
 spyān-sñā-nas skyabsu hgro-ba  
 dañ | bslab-bahi gshi-dag blañs-  
 pas | dehi pbyir hdi-dag-la mi  
 bbab-bo || des smras-pa | gal-te  
 [140b1] de-lta-na bdag-gis kyañ  
 bcom-ldan-hdas-kyi spyān-sñā-  
 nas skyabsu hgro-ba dañ | bslab-  
 bahi gshi-dag blañ-ño || mas  
 smras-pa | bu tsbe gcig-gi sdug-  
 bsñal ni blahi | tshe-rabs mañ-  
 po-ni ma [140b2] yin-te | gal-te  
 khyod-kyis bcom-ldan-hdas-kyi  
 spyān-sñā-nas skyabsu hgro-ba  
 dañ | bslab-bahi gshi-dag blañs-  
 nas | yañ-dag-par ma bsruñs na |  
 yun riñ-por sems-can dmyal-  
 [140b3] bar sdug-bsñal man-gas-  
 par bya dgoso || des bsams-ba |  
 sdug-hsñal hdi-bas ches sdug-  
 bsñal-ba ci shig yod-kyis |  
 bcom-ldan-hdas-kyi spyān-sñā-  
 nas skyabsu hgro-ba dañ | bslab-  
 [140b4] bahi gshi-dag len-du  
 hgroho sñam-nas | des bram-zehi

replied: [140a5] As for these, though the great magic and great witchcraft last a kalpa, since they cannot be carried off by Suparnin, the chief of the mountain birds, [the colors] will not appear on them. [140a6] Then [he noticed that] also on the bodies of other refined nāgas there was no color of sand or fire, and he said: Mother, it would be proper [for the colors to be] on these, why are they not on them? The mother [140a7] replied: Since these have taken the Refugees in the presence of the Bhagavat and received the basic instruction, [the colors] do not appear on them. He said: If [140b1] that is so, I too, taking the Refugees in the presence of the Bhagavat, will receive the basic instruction. His mother replied: Son, [your] momentary suffering is preferable; many rebirths are not [remaining for you] [140b2]. If you take the Refugees in the presence of the Bhagavat and receive the basic instruction, if you are not very careful, for a long time in the hell of creatures [140b3] must you undergo suffering. He thought: What suffering is greater than this suffering? I will go take the Refugees in the presence of



cha-lugsu mñon-par sprul-nas  
 rgyal-byed-kyi tsbal-du soñ-ba  
 dañ | ji-tsam-na des dge-sloñ-  
 dag bsam-gtan dañ | klog-pa  
 dañ | rnal- [140b5] hbyor dañ |  
 yid-la byed-par hrtson-shiñ |  
 gnas-pa mtboñ-ño || mthoñ-nas  
 kyañ dad-pa skyes-te | des  
 bsams-pa | ji je-dañ-bor skyabsu  
 hgro-ba dañ | bslab-paḥi gshi-  
 dag blañ [140b6] ñam | hon-te  
 rab-tu-hbyuñ-bar bya sñam-mo  
 || de yañ bsams-pa | rab-tu-  
 hbyuñ-bar byaho sñam-nas | de  
 dge-sloñ-gi gan-du soñ-ste  
 smras-pa | hpbags-ba bdag rab-  
 tu-hbyuñ-bar htshal- [140b7] lo  
 || des smras-ba | kho-bo-ni gsar-  
 bu yin | gnas-brtan gsban-hgah  
 shig-gi druñ-du soñ-çig || des  
 smras-pa | hphags-pa bdag-gis  
 gsban-ño htshal-ba ma mcbis-te  
 | hdi-ltar [141a1] bdag thog-ma  
 kho-nar hpbags-paḥi gan-du  
 mchis-pas | khyod-ñid-kyis bdag  
 dge-sloñ hgah-shig-la gtad-par  
 gsol | dge-sloñ dehi mkban-po  
 dgon-pa-pa shig [141a2] dgon-pa  
 na hdug-pas | des de khrid-de  
 dehi gan-du soñ-nas smras-pa |  
 mkhan-po rigs-kyi hu hdi rab-  
 tu-hbyuñ-bar htshal-gyis rab-  
 tu-dbyuñ-du gsol | des smras-pa  
 | bshin-bzañs [141a3] bcom-  
 ldan-hdas-kyis dge-sloñ-dag çin-  
 pa \* byed-du bcug-pa-ni blaḥi |

the Bbagavat and go receive  
 the basic instruction [140b4].

So thinking, causing [himself]  
 to appear in Brahman's clothes,  
 he went to the Jetavana, where  
 he saw the bhiksus exerting  
 themselves in meditation, read-  
 ing, [140b5] contemplation and  
 remembering. Seeing this, he be-  
 lieved, and thought: First must I  
 go to the Refuges and receive the  
 basic instruction [140b6] or be-  
 come a monk? He also thought:  
 I must become a monk. Having  
 thus thought, going to a bhikṣu  
 he said: Reverend Sir, I desire  
 to become a monk [140b7]. He  
 replied: Since I am a novice, go  
 to some other sthāvira. He re-  
 plied: Reverend Sir, I desire no  
 other. Therefore [141a1] I came  
 to Your Reverence the very  
 first, but you yourself request  
 me to turn to some other bhikṣu.  
 An anchorite teacher of this  
 bhikṣu [141a2] was in a hermit-  
 age [nearby]. Leading him [the  
 nāga] to him, he said: Teacher,  
 this noble youth being desirous  
 of becoming a monk asks to be  
 made a monk. He replied: Sir,  
 [141a3] the Bbagavat has com-  
 manded: O bhiksus, it is pre-  
 ferable ?to begin to kill?. For,  
 having become a monk and been  
 ordained, [your apprentice] may

\* The translation of this whole passage is doubtful, çin is probably for gçin

rab-tu-byuñ-shiñ bsñen-par-  
 rdsogs-par byas-nas | yal-bar  
 bor-ba ni mi ruñ-ño sbes bkah-  
 stsal-pas | hdi [141a4] yañ sems-  
 candmyal-bar bpbro-bar hgyur-  
 la | kho-bo yañ ltuñ-ba dañ  
 beas-par hgyur-has | kho-ho hdi  
 rab-tu mi hbyin to || des smras-  
 pa | mkhan-pos rab-tu-dbyuñ-  
 ba [141a5] hbah-shig mdsod-cig  
 dañ | bdag-gis bdi bslab-par bgyi-  
 shiñ klog-tu stsal-har bgyiho ||  
 des de rab-tu-hyuñ-shiñ bsñen-  
 par-rdsogs-par byas-nas | smras-  
 pa | hshin-bzañs [141a6] hdi-ñid  
 khyod-kyi mkhan-po gcig-pa  
 yin | hdi-ñid sloh-dpon yin-gyis  
 | khyod-kyis hdi-ñid-la hdri-har  
 hya | khyod-kyis hdi-ñid-la klag-  
 par hya | khyod-kyis hdi-ñid-la  
 hslab- [141a7] par hyaho || des  
 gcig-las-hphros-pahi luñ hlags-  
 pas | des de gcig-las-hphros-pahi  
 luñ klog-tu gshug-par hrtsams-  
 pa dañ | de çin-tu brtson-hgrus  
 hrtsams- [141b1] pas kha-don-  
 du\* lhogs-nas\* | dge-sloñ slob-  
 dpon de çin-tu mig-gañ\* ste |  
 des de-la smras-pa | bshin-bzañs  
 cillhan-cig-tu bsod-sñoms-lahjug  
 par bya ham | hon-te so-sor des\*  
 bsams- [141b2] pa | bdag-gis mihi  
 zas-kyis htsho-bar mi nus-kyis  
 hdag kluhi gan-su soñ-la bdud-

not he neglected. Since this one [141a4] is going to go to the hell of creatures, I, for my part, would be committing a sin; I will not make him a monk. He said: Let my teacher perform only the ceremony of becoming a monk [141a5], and let me instruct him and teach him to read. Having made him a monk and ordained him, he said: Sir, [141a6] since this is your one teacher, this is your master, you shall inquire only of him, you shall study only with him, you shall have your education only under him [141a7]. Since he had been taught the *Ekottarāgama*, he started him out upon the reading of the *Ekottarāgama*, and he, starting out with much zeal, [141b1] recited by heart. The master bhikṣu, quite amazed, said to him: Sir, shall we go for alms together or alone? He thought [141b2]: Since I am unable to live on human food, I will go to the nāgas and eat ambrosia, and having eaten I will return. Thus thinking he said: Teacher, let us go separately [141b3]. He re-

\* For kha ton-du

\* Cf. Das, s. v. klog

\* I have not found mig gañ elsewhere

\* Narthang and Peking editions read deñ

rtsizos-çiñzos-çiñphyir-hoñ-bar  
 byaho sñam-nas | des smras-pa |  
 slob-dponso-sorhjug-par [141b3]  
 bgyeho || des smras-pa | bshin-  
 bzañs de-ltar gyis-çig | de klui  
 gan su lhahi bdud-rtsi zos-nas  
 phyir-hoñ ño || klu-rnams-ni  
 gñid che-ba yin-pas | de gañ-gi  
 tshe gñid log-nas [141b4] lañs-  
 pa dehi tshe-na | dge-sloñ de  
 bsod-sñoms blañs-nas phyir-  
 hoñ-ño || ji-tsam dus gshan-  
 shig-na dge-sloñ des bsod-sñoms  
 glo-bur-ba rñed-nas<sup>10</sup> des de  
 blañs-te | phyir hoñ-ba dañ ji-  
 tsam- [141b5] na | gnas-khañ na  
 mgar-bahí<sup>11</sup> sbud-pa hbud-pa  
 lta-buhi sgra thos-nas | des gtan-  
 pahí bu-ga-nas bltas-na | gnas-  
 khañ de thams cad klui lus  
 bskyil-bas gañ-pa mthoñ-nas |  
 des [141b6] sprul-pa sprul-pa  
 shes sgra phyuñ-ba dañ | de sgra-  
 la mkhas-pas myur-ba kho-nar  
 sad-nas | rañ-bshin kyí cha-lugs  
 mi snañ-bar byas-te | de sprul-  
 pahí cha-lugsu hdugo | dge-sloñ  
 dag [141b7] kyañ lhags-nas | de-  
 dag-gis de-la smras-pa | hdi ci  
 yin des smras-pa | sprul-pa yino  
 | de-dag-gis smras-pa | tshe-dañ-  
 ldan-pa brtson-hgrus brtsams-  
 pas rtag-tu kha-ton-la brtson-pa  
 [142a1] yin-na | ci khyod hdi-la  
 ser-sna byed dam | des smras-pa

plied: Sir, so be it. He, having  
 eaten divine ambrosia among  
 the nāgas, returned. Since nāgas  
 are very prone to sleep, while  
 he slept [141b4] and [then]  
 awoke, the bhikṣu, having got  
 alms, returned. When, on an-  
 other occasion, the bhikṣu, hav-  
 ing come upon his alms quickly,  
 took them and returned, [141  
 b5] hearing in the room as it  
 were the sound of a blacksmith  
 blowing the bellows, and look-  
 ing through the door-bar aper-  
 ture, he saw that the whole  
 room was filled with the squat-  
 ting body of the nāga. When  
 he [141b6] cried "ghost,"  
 "ghost," becoming aware of  
 the sound he [nāga], very  
 quickly awaking and not reveal-  
 ing his natural form, assumed  
 his false form. When the bhikṣus  
 [141b7] had looked, they said to  
 him: What is this? He replied:  
 A ghost. They said: Reverend  
 Sir, if starting out with zeal he  
 always gave himself to recitation  
 from memory [142a1], why were  
 you miserly to him? He replied:  
 I was not the least miserly to  
 him, so he is a ghost.

<sup>10</sup> Narthang reads *sñad-nas*

<sup>11</sup> Narthang reads *hgar-bahí*

|kho-bo-ni hdi-la chuñ-zad kyañ  
 ser-sna mi byed | hdi-ltar hdi-ni  
 sprul-pa yino de-dag phan-tshun  
 smra-ha-na | bcom-[142a2] ldan-  
 hdas kyañ phyogs der gcegs nas  
 | bcom-ldan-hdas-kyis hkah-  
 stsal-pa | hdi ci yin | dge-sloñ-  
 dag-gis gsol-pa | bcom-ldan-hdas  
 sprul-pa lagso || bcom-[142a3]  
 ldan-hdas-kyis bkah-stsal-pa |  
 dge-sloñ-dag gañ-zag sprul-pa  
 ni chos hdul-ba hdi-la mi skye-  
 bahi chos-can yin-pas | dge-sloñ-  
 dag khyed-kyis gañ-zag sprul-  
 pa chos hdul-ba hdi-las [142a4]  
 hñil-har byaho || hgah-shig-gi  
 gan-du rah-tu hhyuñ-par hdod-  
 pa hoñs-na | des de-la sprul-pa  
 ma yin nam | shes dri-bar byaho  
 || ma dris-par rah-tu-hhyin-par  
 byed-na hgal-tshabs-can [142a5]  
 du hgyuro || dge-sloñ-dag kluhi  
 rañ-hshin lña-po hdi-dag yin-la  
 | lhag-ma-ni sprul-pa yin-no ||  
 lña gañ she-na | rañ-hshin-gyis  
 skyes-ba dañ | rañ-bshin-gyis  
 hchi-ba dañ | rañ-[142a6] bshin-  
 gyis ñal-ba dañ | rañ-bshin-gyis  
 za-ba dañ | rañ-bshin-gyis mi-  
 tshañs-par spyod-par hkhri-  
 pahi chos bsten-par byed-paho  
 || bcom-ldan-hdas-kyis bkah-  
 stsal-ba | bshin-[142a7] bzañs  
 khyod-kyis phuñ-po hdi-dag-gis  
 yon-tan-gyi tshogs<sup>12</sup> hgah yañ

While they were talking to one another, the Bhagavat [142a2] came to that quarter and declared: What is this? The monks replied: Bhagavat, it is a ghost. The Bhagavat [142a3] declared: Bhikṣus, as for ghostly creatures, since they are not such that the Law and the Vinaya flourish [in them], you, O Bhikṣus, shall deprive ghostly creatures of this Law and Vinaya [142a4]. When anyone comes seeking to become a monk, he must be asked whether he is a ghost or not. If he is made a monk without the question being asked, one becomes faulty [142a5]. Bhikṣus, a nāga has these five true natures, the others are false. What are the five? In his true nature is he born. In his true nature does he die. In his true [142a6] nature does he sleep. In his true nature does he eat. In his true nature is he lustful and does he practise intercourse. The Bhagavat declared: Sir, [142a7] since you with these *skandhas* [= in this present body] are not able to acquire any good qualities, go away without harming the bhikṣus. He [nāga] thought: Where shall I go? [142b1]

<sup>12</sup> Narthang reads *yon-tan-gyis chogs*.

thob-par mi nus-kyis dge-sloñ-  
 rnams-la ma htshé-har soñ-ḡig |  
 des bsams-pa | hbab-par ga la  
 bya [142b1] sñam-nas | des sa-  
 lahi dgon-pa shig-tu soñ-nas |  
 gtsug-lag-khañ rta-babs mtbon-  
 po dañ-ldan-pa | mtboñs-khuñ  
 dañ skar-khuñ dra-ba can dañ |  
 lan-kan-gyis brgyan-pa sñiñ dañ  
 mig [142b2] hpbrog-par byed-  
 pa | mtbo-ris-kyi tbem-skasu  
 gyur-pa | khri dañ khrihu dañ |  
 yo-byad phun-sum-tsoggs-pa  
 shig sprul-te | dge-sloñ glo-bur-  
 du hoñs-ha dañ | hgro-har chas-  
 pa-rnams-la yo- [142b3] byad  
 thams-cad-kyi stohs-par hyedo  
 || rgan-shugs ḡig gtsug-lag khañ  
 der dbyar-gnas-nas mñan-yod-  
 du soñ-ño || drug-sde-dag-gis  
 kun-tu spyod-pa-ni hdir bdag-  
 cag-gis bram-ze [142b4] dañ |  
 khyim-bdag hoñs-ḡiñ lhags-pa-  
 rnams-la yañ chos bstan-par  
 bya rgol-ba-dag kyañ tshar-  
 bcad-par bya | rañ-ḡi grags-pa  
 yañ bsgrags-par byaho sñam-  
 pas | drug-sde-dag-las [142b5]  
 gañ-yañ ruñ-bas rgyal-byed-kyi  
 tsbal-gyi sgo stoñ-par mi hjog-  
 pas | ñe-dgah nañ-par sñar-lañs-  
 te so-ḡiñ bor-nas snam-sbyar  
 dmar-ser gyon-te | rgyal-byed-  
 kyi tshal-gyi sgo-na hcbag-ḡiñ  
 hdugo | [142b6] des tbag-rñ-po  
 kho-na-nas rgan-shugs mgo  
 spra-bahi me-tog ltar skya-ba

Thus thinking, going to a  
 desert place on the earth, a  
 monastery endowed with large  
 arches, with open courts, with  
 lattice windows, adorned with  
 railings, captivating mind and  
 eye [142b2], a heavenly stair-  
 case, with furnishings of chairs  
 and beds did he create, and  
 to the bbiksus who happened to  
 come and [to those] who were  
 on the point of leaving all ne-  
 cessities were provided [142b3].  
 An elder went from passing the  
 rainy season in this monastery  
 to Śrāvastī.

Since it was the custom of the  
 Śadvargikas, thinking "Here  
 we will teach the law to Brab-  
 mans [142h4] and householders  
 who come, we will stop quarrels,  
 we will cause our praises to be  
 sung," not to leave the doorway  
 to the Jetavana unguarded by  
 one of the Śadvargikas [142b5],  
 Upananda, having risen early,  
 thrown away his tooth-pick, and  
 put on his saffron robe, walked  
 to the doorway of the Jetavana  
 and sat. [142b6] He, from afar  
 seeing that elder coming—bead  
 white like a *spra-ba* flower and  
 with a long eyebrow—,thought:  
 This is certainly a stbavira-  
 bhiksu [142b7]. Thus tbinking,

smin-ma lphyañ-ha shig hoñ-ba  
 de mthoñ-nas | des hsams-pa |  
 hdi-ni dge-sloñ gnas-hrtan hgah-  
 shig yin gor-ma-chag [142b7]  
 sñam-nas | des <sup>13</sup> hsu-ste gnas-  
 hrtan hyon-pa legso || hyon-pa  
 legso || shes byas-pa dañ | des  
 smras-pa | slob-dpon phyag-  
 htsbalo || ñe-dgas hsams-pa |  
 kye-ma hdi ni rgan-[143a1]  
 shugs cig-ste slob-dpon yañ mi  
 ces | mkhan-po yañ mi ces sñam-  
 nas | des de-la smras-pa | rgan-  
 shugs khyod ga-las hoñs | sa-  
 lahi dgon-pa naso || [143a2] ci  
 de-na gtsug-lag-khañ yod dam  
 | des smras-pa | gtsug-lag-khañ  
 yodo || ci de gtsug-lag-khañ yin  
 nam | hon-te hphoñs-pa yin |  
 gtsug-lag-khañ-ni ci-hdra |  
 phoñs- [143a3] pa-ni ci-hdra |  
 gañ-na yo-hyad thams-cad dañ-  
 ldan-pa-ni gtsug-lag-khañ yin  
 la | gañ-na yo-hyad thams-cad  
 dañ hral-ha-ni hpboñs-pa yino  
 || de gtsug-lag-khañ yin | de-na  
 ci yod [143a4] de-na dge-sloñ  
 shal-ta byed-pa gnas-te | des  
 dge-sloñ glo-bur-du hoñs-pa dañ  
 | bgro-bar chas-pa-rnams-la yo-  
 byad thams-cad-kyis stobs-par  
 byedo || drug-sde-dag-gis kun-  
 tu-spyod-[143a5] pa-ni | gañ cuñ-  
 zad ci thos-pa de phyi-bbred-  
 kyī <sup>14</sup> dus-kyi tsbe gcig-tu bdus-

he went to meet him crying: Wel-  
 come, Sthavira, welcome. He [the  
 elder] said: Honor to the master.  
 Upananda thought: Alas, al-  
 though this one is an elder  
 [143a1], does he know neither  
 master nor teacher? Thus think-  
 ing, he said to him: Elder,  
 whence have you come? From  
 a desert place on the earth  
 [143a2]. Is there a monastery  
 there? He replied: There is a  
 monastery. Is it a monastery,  
 or is it a destitute place? What  
 is a monastery like? What is a  
 destitute place like [143a3]? One  
 possessed of all necessities is a  
 monastery; one where all ne-  
 cessities are lacking is a desti-  
 tute place. It is a monastery.  
 What is there there? [143a4]  
 There there is a bhikṣu engaged  
 in superintendence. By him the  
 bhikṣus who happen to come  
 and those who are on the point  
 of leaving are provided with all  
 necessities.

It was the custom of the  
 Sadvargikas [143a5] that he who  
 had heard a hit, when they bad

<sup>13</sup> In 145b2 a *de* is added here as object of the verb

<sup>14</sup> I have not found *phyi-bbred* elsewhere, but JASCHKE gives a *phyi-phred*, and DAS

nas<sup>15</sup> | phan-tshun rjod-par<sup>16</sup>  
 byed-pa yin-pas ñe-dgah gtsug-  
 lag-khañ-du soñ-ste | drug-sde-  
 dag-la smras-pa | tshe-[143a6]  
 dañ-ldan-pa bdag-cag-gis yun-  
 ji-srid-kyis brel-ba<sup>17</sup> spañ-bar  
 bya | lhyod-kyis thos-pa cbuñ-  
 shig yod dam | ñe-dgas smras-  
 pa yod-de | sa-lahi dgon-pa-na  
 gtsug-lag-khañ yodo | [143a7]  
 de-na ci yod | de-na<sup>18</sup> shal-ta  
 byed-pa gnas-te | des dge-sloñ  
 glo-bur-du hoñs-pa dañ | hgro-  
 bar chas-pa-rnams-la yo-byad  
 thams-cad-kyis stobs-par byed-  
 kyis tsbur-çog<sup>19</sup> | bdag-[143b1]  
 cag der hdoñ-ño | de-dag der  
 doñ-ba<sup>20</sup> dañ | des de-dag thag-  
 riñ-po kho-na-nas hoñ-ba  
 mtboñ-nas | des bsams-pa | gnas-  
 ñan-len kun-tu-spyod-pa de-dag  
 hdir hoñso sñamo || des [143b2]  
 yañ bsams-pa | bdag-gis hdi-  
 dag-la yo-byad thams-cad-kyis  
 bstabs-na | hdi-dag-gis bdag-la  
 ci byar yod sñam-nas | des de-  
 dag-la rgan-rims-kyis gnas-ma-  
 la yañ-[143b3] tog<sup>21</sup> dañ | khañ-  
 pa brtsegs-pa-dag bskos-çin yo-

assembled at a moment in the evening, make declaration to the others. So Upananda went to the monastery and said to the Śaḍvargīkas: Reverend [143a6] Sirs, how long must we abandon activity. Have you heard something? Upananda replied: I have. In a desert spot on the earth there is a monastery. [143a7] What is there? There there is [a bhikṣu] engaged in superintendence. Since by him the bhikṣus who happen to arrive and those who are on the point of leaving are provided with all the necessities, [143b1] let us go there. While they were proceeding there, he [the nāga] saw them coming from afar and thought: Those doers of wickedness have come here. He [143b2] also thought: If I provide them with all necessities, what will they do to me? So thinking, he, having built, as befits the residence of older people, domes [143b3] and storied dwellings, also provided

a *phye* *hphrod* Narthang looks as though it may have once read *phye-hdred* In 145b7 Derge reads *phye* *hbred* *kyi*, Narthang, *phye* *hbred* *kyi*

<sup>15</sup> Here, but not in 145b7, Narthang reads *hdug-nas*, "having sat"

<sup>16</sup> Here, but not in 145b7, Narthang reads *brjod-par*

<sup>17</sup> Narthang reads *drel ba* (*brel ba* in 146a1), but my collation made in Paris reads *phrel ba* for both the black and the Peking editions

<sup>18</sup> See above 143a4 where the same phrase contains at this point a *dge sloñ*

<sup>19</sup> This is the Derge reading, Narthang has *tshur-çog*

<sup>20</sup> Narthang here, but not in 146a4, reads *hon ba*

<sup>21</sup> This term, which I do not find elsewhere, is probably the equivalent of *yañ-thog*

byad thams-cad-kyis kyañ  
 hstahso || de-dag ñi-ma ñuñ-čas-  
 cig hkhod-nas smras-pa | dgah-  
 ho ñe-dgah<sup>22</sup> rgan-shugs hdi-la  
 | [143b4] hdu-ha yañ mi snañ  
 hgod-pa yañ mi snañ-has | hdag-  
 cag-gis hdi-la grañs-dag-hdeh-  
 su gshugo | shes de-dag-gis de-la  
 smras-pa | rgan-shugs khyod-  
 la hdu-ba yañ mi snañ | [143h5]  
 hgod-pa yañ mi snañ-has tshur-  
 çog | grañs-tboh-çig | des smras-  
 pa | hphags-pa-dag cbuñ-zad  
 ñams-pa ham gcig-tu ma gyur  
 tam | de-dag gis smras-pa |  
 chuñ zad [143b6] kyañ ñams-  
 par ma gyur-te | tsbañs-pa  
 mtshuñs-par spyod-pa-rnams-  
 kyis drug-sde-dag gtsug-lag-  
 khañ de-ñid-du dbyar-gnas-pa<sup>23</sup>  
 | de-dag-gis hdu-ba yañ mi çes  
 | hgod-pa [143h7] yañ mi çeso  
 sbes bdag-cag smad-par hgyuro  
 || des smras-pa | gnas-brtan-dag  
 gal-te de-lta-na hgyiho || ji-tsam-  
 na bya | lo hcu-gñis lon-naho<sup>24</sup> ||  
 de-dag-gis smras-pa | [144a1] |  
 rgan-shugslobcu-gñis-nakhyod-  
 kyis gtsug-lag-khañ hdi sgo-  
 hphar yañ zos-par hgyuro || des  
 smras-pa | lo hdun-naho || de-  
 dag-gis smras-pa | mi ruño des<sup>25</sup>  
 [144a2] smras-pa | zla-ba bdun-

them with all necessities. They,  
 sitting where there was little sun,  
 said: Nanda and Upananda,  
 since this elder [143h4] has no  
 listing or declaration [of his  
 monastery's stores], we will  
 undertake an enumeration here.  
 So speaking, they said to him:  
 Elder, since you have no listing  
 [143h5] or declaration, come  
 here and make an enumeration.  
 He replied: Reverend Sirs, little,  
 if any, damage has been done.  
 They said: Although even a  
 little [143b6] damage has not  
 been done, we shall be re-  
 proached by our fellow-students,  
 saying, The Sadvargikas have  
 passed the summer in this  
 monastery without knowing  
 either a listing or a declaration  
 [143h7]. He replied: Elders  
 [sthavira], in that case I will do  
 so. When will you do it? In  
 twelve years. They said: [144a1]  
 Elder, in twelve years you will  
 eat even this monastery's doors!  
 He replied: In seven years. They  
 said: It will not do. He [144a2]  
 replied: In seven montbs. They  
 said: It will not do. He replied:

<sup>22</sup> Nandopananda is a king of the nagas Cf L. FEER, *Annales du Musée Guimet* 5 (1893), 414-419 Here, however, we must read Nanda and Upananda, the names of two of the six Cf DAS, *Dictionary* 655, col 2

<sup>23</sup> Derge reads \*gnas-na

<sup>24</sup> Derge omits the lon

<sup>25</sup> Narthang reads de



naho | de-dag-gis smras-pa | mi  
 ruño || des smras-pa | ñin-shag  
 bdun-naho || de-dag-gis smras-  
 pa | dgah-po ñe-dgah ñin-shag  
 bdun-gyis rgan-shugs hdis ci-  
 shig [144a3] zos-par gyur-te |  
 de-bshin byaho || de-dag-gis de-  
 la smras-pa | rgan-shugs de-  
 bshin gyis-gig | des bsams-pa |  
 shag bdun lon-na gtsug-lag-  
 khañ hdi mi snañ-bar gyuro  
 [144a4] sñam-nas | des de-na<sup>26</sup>  
 tshañs-pa mtshuñs-par spyod-  
 pa des-pa des-pa-rnams-la | la-  
 la-la-ni snam-sbyar hbul-bar  
 byed | la-la-la-ni bla-gos | la-la-  
 la-ni çam-thabs | la-la-la-ni [144  
 a5] rdul-zan | la-la-la-ni lhuñ-  
 bzed | la-la-la-ni lhuñ-bzed chuñ-  
 ñu hbul-bar byedo | drug-sde-  
 dag-gis de mtboñ-nas de-dag-  
 gis smras-pa | dgah-bo ñe-dgah  
 rgan-shugs hdi phyogs-[144a6]  
 chol-gyi<sup>27</sup> shag bdun hdas-nas  
 pbyogs dañ-beas-nas rtsa-nas  
 gdon to || des kyañ shag bdun  
 hdas-nas de-dag ñal-ba dañ  
 gtsug-lag-khañ de mi snañ-bar  
 byas-nas | rgya-mtshohi gram-  
 [144a7] du soñ-ño || de-dag  
 kyañ sa-sgre-bo-la ñal-shiñ  
 hkhod-nas smras-pa | dgah-bo  
 ñe-dgah loñs-la rdo-rgyus loñ-  
 çig dañ | grañs-hdeb-su gshug-

In seven days. They said:  
 Nanda and Upananda, for seven  
 days whatever [144a3] this elder  
 eats, let it be provided. To him  
 they said: Elder, do so. He  
 thought: In seven days this  
 monastery will have disap-  
 peared. [144a4] Thus thinking,  
 by him there [presents were  
 made] to the best of his fellow-  
 students: to some mantles were  
 given, to others upper garments,  
 to others undergarments, to  
 others [144a5] cloaks, to others  
 alms-bowls, to others small alms-  
 bowls were given. When the  
 Śaḍvargikas saw this they said:  
 Nanda and Upananda, since  
 this elder here [144a6] will seek  
 partisans, after seven days let  
 him be utterly expelled with his  
 suite. He after the seven days,  
 while they were asleep, caused  
 that monastery to disappear and  
 went to the seashore [144a7].  
 After sleeping on the bare  
 ground they said: Nanda and  
 Upananda, get up; our dear  
 friends, get up, and begin a  
 reckoning. Having considered  
 [144b1]: How long were we  
 asleep on the bare ground, they

<sup>26</sup> Derge reads *de-nas*, "thereupon"

<sup>27</sup> For *chol* Derge reads *tshol-gyi*. The compound is probably equivalent to the *paksaparyeṣana* found in *Divyā* 152 3 [Clark]

byad tbams-cad-kyis kyañ  
 bstahso || de-dag ñi-ma ñiñ-čas-  
 cig hkhod-nas smras-pa | dgah-  
 ho ñe-dgah<sup>22</sup> rgan-sbugs hdi-la  
 | [143b4] hdu-ba yañ mi snañ  
 hgod-pa yañ mi snañ-bas | bdag-  
 cag-gis bdi la grañs-dag-hdeb-  
 su gshugo | shes de-dag-gis de-la  
 smras-pa | rgan-shugs khyod-  
 la hdu-ba yañ mi snañ | [143b5]  
 hgod pa yañ mi snañ-bas tsbur-  
 çog | grañs-tbob-cig | des smras-  
 pa | hpbags-pa dag chuñ-zad  
 ñams pa ham gcig-tu ma gyur  
 tam | de-dag-gis smras-pa |  
 chuñ-zad [143b6] kyañ ñams-  
 par ma gyur-te | tshañs-pa  
 mtshuñs-par spyod-pa-rnams-  
 kyis drug-sde-dag gtsug-lag-  
 khañ de-ñid-du dbyar-gnas-pa<sup>23</sup>  
 | de-dag-gis hdu-ba yañ mi çes  
 | hgod-pa [143b7] yañ mi çeso  
 sbes bdag-cag smad par hgyuro  
 || des smras-pa | gnas-brtan-dag  
 gal-te de-lta-na bgyiho || ji-tsam-  
 na bya | lo bcu-gñis lon-naho<sup>24</sup> ||  
 de-dag-gis smras-pa | [144a1] |  
 rgan-shugslobcu-gñis-nakhyod-  
 kyis gtsug-lag khañ hdi sgo-  
 lphar yañ zos-par hgyuro || des  
 smras-pa | lo hdun-naho || de-  
 dag-gis smras-pa | mi ruño des<sup>25</sup>  
 [144a2] smras-pa | zla-ba bdun-

them with all necessities. They,  
 sitting where there was little sun,  
 said: Nanda and Upananda,  
 since this elder [143b4] has no  
 listing or declaration [of his  
 monastery's stores], we will  
 undertake an enumeration bere.  
 So speaking, they said to him:  
 Elder, since you have no listing  
 [143b5] or declaration, come  
 here and make an enumeration.  
 He replied: Reverend Sirs, little,  
 if any, damage has been done.  
 They said: Although even a  
 little [143b6] damage has not  
 been done, we shall be re-  
 proached by our fellow-students,  
 saying, The Śādvargikas have  
 passed the summer in this  
 monastery without knowing  
 either a listing or a declaration  
 [143b7]. He replied: Elders  
 [sthavira], in that case I will do  
 so. When will you do it? In  
 twelve years. They said: [144a1]  
 Elder, in twelve years you will  
 eat even this monastery's doors!  
 He replied: In seven years. They  
 said: It will not do. He [144a2]  
 replied: In seven months. They  
 said: It will not do. He replied:

<sup>22</sup> Nandopananda is a king of the nāgas Cf L. FEER, *Annales du Musée Guimet* 5 (1883), 414-419. Here, however, we must read Nanda and Upananda, the names of two of the six Cf DAS, *Dictionary* 635, col 2

<sup>23</sup> Derge reads \*gnas na

<sup>24</sup> Derge omits the lon

<sup>25</sup> Narthang reads de

naho | de-dag-gis smras-pa | mi  
 ruño || des smras-pa | ñin-shag  
 bdun-nabo || de-dag-gis smras-  
 pa | dgah-po ñe-dgah ñin-shag  
 bdun-gyis rgan-shugs hdis ci-  
 shig [144a3] zos-par gyur-te |  
 de-bshin byaho || de-dag-gis de-  
 la smras-pa | rgan-shugs de-  
 bshin gyis-çig | des bsams-pa |  
 shag bdun lon-na gtsug-lag-  
 khañ hdi mi snañ-bar gyuro  
 [144a4] sñam-nas | des de-na<sup>26</sup>  
 tshañs-pa mtshuñs-par spyod-  
 pa des-pa des-pa-rnams-la | la-  
 la-la-ni snam-sbyar libul-bar  
 byed | la-la-la-ni bla-gos | la-la-  
 la-ni çam-thabs | la-la-la-ni [144  
 a5] rdul-zan | la-la-la-ni lhuñ-  
 bzed | la-la-la-ni lhuñ-bzed ehuñ-  
 ñu hbul-bar hyedo | drug-sde-  
 dag-gis de mtboñ-nas de-dag-  
 gis smras-pa | dgah-bo ñe-dgah  
 rgan-shugs hdi phyogs- [144a6]  
 chol-gyi<sup>27</sup> shag bdun hdas-nas  
 phyogs dañ-beas-nas rtsa-nas  
 gdon to || des kyañ shag bdun  
 hdas-nas de-dag ñal-ba dañ  
 gtsug-lag-khañ de mi snañ-bar  
 byas-nas | rgya-mtsbohi gram-  
 [144a7] du soñ-ño || de-dag  
 kyañ sa-sgre-bo-la ñal-shiñ  
 hkhod-nas smras-pa | dgah-bo  
 ñe-dgah loñs-la rdo-rgyus loñ-  
 çig dañ | grañs-hdeb-su gshug-

In seven days. They said:  
 Nanda and Upananda, for seven  
 days whatever [144a3] this elder  
 eats, let it be provided. To him  
 they said: Elder, do so. He  
 thought: In seven days this  
 monastery will have disap-  
 peared. [144a4] Thus thinking,  
 by him there [presents were  
 made] to the best of his fellow-  
 students: to some mantles were  
 given, to others upper garments,  
 to others undergarments, to  
 others [144a5] cloaks, to others  
 alms-bowls, to others small alms-  
 howls were given. When the  
 Śaḍvargikas saw this they said:  
 Nanda and Upananda, since  
 this elder here [144a6] will seek  
 partisans, after seven days let  
 him be utterly expelled with his  
 suite. He after the seven days,  
 while they were asleep, caused  
 that monastery to disappear and  
 went to the seashore [144a7].  
 After sleeping on the bare  
 ground they said: Nanda and  
 Upananda, get up; our dear  
 friends, get up, and begin a  
 reckoning. Having considered  
 [144b1]: How long were we  
 asleep on the bare ground, they

<sup>26</sup> Derge reads *de-nas*, "thereupon"

<sup>27</sup> For *chol* Derge reads *tshol-gyis*. The compound is probably equivalent to the *pakṣaparyesana* found in *Divyā* 152 3 [Clark]

go|de-dag-gis ji-tsam-na [144b1]  
 bdag-cag sa-sgre-bo-la ñal-bar  
 mtboñ-nas de-dag-gis smras-pa  
 | bcom-ldan-hdas-la mñon-par  
 dad-pa | sañs-rgyas dañ chos  
 dañdge-hdun-lamebod-pabyed-  
 pa shig | bdag-cag-gis [144b2]  
 tbo-btsams-nas<sup>28</sup> | gtsug-lag-  
 khañ mi snañ-par byas-te | soñ-  
 ba de lba ham klu ham gnod-  
 sbyin nam su yin shes zer-ba hi  
 skabs-de | bcom-ldan-hdas-la  
 dge-sloñ-rnams-kyis gsol-[144  
 b3] pa dañ | bcom-ldan-hdas-  
 kyis bkah-stsal-pa | dge-sloñ-dag  
 dge-sloñ sbal-ta byed-pa de-ni  
 sprul-pa gañ yia-pa de-ñid yin-  
 te | gal-te dge-sloñ drug-sde-  
 dag-gis tho-btsams-par<sup>29</sup> [144b4]  
 ma gyur-na | bstan-pa mthar-  
 tbug-gi bar-du sañs-rgyas dañ  
 ebos dañ dge-hdun-dag-la  
 mebod-pa byed-par hgyuro ||  
 bcom-ldan-bdas-kyis dgoñs-pa |  
 ñes-dmigs<sup>29</sup> gañ ci byuñ-ba  
 [144b5] de ni | dge-sloñ-dag  
 gtsug-lag-khañ gañ-na hdu bgod  
 mi mñon-par der grañs-hdeb-su  
 hjug-pa-las gyur-pa yino sñam-  
 nas | bkah-btsal-pa | de-lta-bas-  
 na gañ-na bdu-ba yañ mi [144b6]  
 mñon | hgod-ba yañ mi mñon-  
 pa der dge-sloñ-gis grañs-bdeb-  
 su gshug-par mi bya-ho || gañ-  
 na hdu-ba ni mñon-la | hgod-pa

said: Believe in the Bhagavat.  
 Honor to the Buddha, the  
 Dharma, and the Saṃgha. [144  
 b2] That one who went away  
 making the monastery dis-  
 appear after we had scorned  
 him, was he a god, a nāga, a  
 yakṣa, or what, the bhikṣus  
 inquired of the Bhagavat [144  
 b3], and the Bhagavat declared:  
 Bhikṣus, as for that bhikṣu who  
 was engaged in superintendence,  
 he is the same as the ghost. If  
 the Sadvargika bhikṣus had not  
 scorned [144b4], [hc], as far as  
 instruction permits, would have  
 paid homage to the Buddha, the  
 Dharma, and the Saṃgha. The  
 Bhagavat reflected: The fault  
 was this [144b5]: O bhikṣus, an  
 enumeration was undertaken in  
 a monastery where neither list-  
 ing nor declaration appeared.  
 Thus thinking, he commanded:  
 Such being the case, where no  
 listing [144b6] appears, where no  
 declaration appears, there let  
 the bhikṣus not undertake an  
 enumeration. Where a listing  
 does appear, but a declaration  
 does not appear, there let the  
 bhikṣus not undertake an enum-  
 eration [144b7]. Where a de-

<sup>28</sup> Narthang's *tho-btsam-nas* would be subject to the translation "because [we] began a list," but 147a1 and the Sanskrit *vāhetuta* (found only in *Divya*) are decisive

<sup>29</sup> Narthang reads *ñe-dmigs*

mī mñon-pa der yañ dge-sloñ-  
gis<sup>40</sup> grañs-hdeb-su gshug-[144  
b7]par mi byaho || gañ-na hgod-  
pa-ni mñon-la hdu-ba mī mñon-  
pa der yañ dge-sloñ-gis grañs-  
hdeb-su gshug-par mi byaho ||  
gañ-na hdu-ba dañ hgod-pa  
mñon-pa der ni dge-sloñ-gis  
[145a1]|| dran-pa dañ | çes-bshin-  
gyis tshod-rig-par byaho | ||  
hdul-ba gshi | bam-po dgu-pa |  
dehī hog-tu rgya-mtshohi  
hgram-du soñ-ste || [145a2] gtsug-  
lag-khañ rta-babs mthon-po  
dañ-ldan-pa | mthoñs-khuñ<sup>41</sup>  
dañ skar-khuñ drab can dañ |  
lan-kan-gyis brgyan-pa sñiñ dañ  
mig hphrog-par byed-pa | mtho-  
ris-kyi them-skasu gyur-pa |  
[145a3] khri dañ khrihu dañ |  
yo-byad phun-sum-tshogs-pa  
gñis-pa shig sprul-te | der rgya-  
meho chen-pohi klu-dag bram-  
ze dañ khyim-bdag-gi eha-byad-  
kyis mñon-du lhags-nas | de-dag  
de-la [145a4] ehos ñan-par byed-  
do || de-dag-gis de-la chos thos-  
nas dge-sloñ glo-bur-du hoñs-ba  
dañ | hgro-bar ehas-pa-rnams-la  
yo-byad thams-ead-kyis stobs-  
par byedo || rgan-shugs [145a5]  
çig gtsug-lag-kbañ der dbyar-  
gnas-nas mñan-yod-du soñ-ño ||  
drug-sde-dag gis kun tu spyod pa ni hdir  
bdag-cag gis bram ze dan khyim bdag  
hons-çun lhags-pa rnams- [145a6] la yan

claration does appear, but a list-  
ing does not appear, there let  
the bhikṣus not undertake an  
enumeration. Where both a  
listing and a declaration appear,  
there let the bhikṣus [145a1],  
out of reflection and knowledge,  
form an estimate.

#### VINAYA 4, SECTION 9

After this, having proceeded  
to the seashore, [145a2] a second  
monastery endowed with large  
arches, with open courts, with  
lattice windows, adorned with  
railings, captivating mind and  
eye, a heavenly staircase, [145a3]  
with furnishings of chairs and  
beds did he create. To it nāgas  
of the great ocean in the dress  
of brahmins and householders  
assembled, and they there [145  
a4] listened to the law. As they  
listened to the law, when a  
bhikṣu happened to come and  
when he was on the point of  
leaving, all necessities were pro-  
vided. An elder [145a5], after  
spending the summer in that  
monastery, came to Śrāvastī.

It was the custom of the  
Śaḍvargikas. . . .

<sup>40</sup> Narthang reads *dge-slon gi*

<sup>41</sup> Narthang reads *mthon-khuñ*

chos bstan par bya | rgo! ba-dag kyan  
 tshar gcad par bya | ran ga grags pa yan  
 bsrag par byaho suam pas | drug sde-  
 dag las gan yan run bas rgyal byed kyī  
 tshal gyī [145a7] sgo ston bar mī h̄jog pas |  
 fie-dgah nan par snar lans te | so-ḡin bor  
 nas suam sbyar dmar ser byon te | rgyal  
 byad kyī tshal gyī sgo-na hehag-cin hdugo  
 | des thag [145b1] rin po kho-na-nas rgan  
 shugs mgo spra bahu me-tog ltar akya ba  
 smun ma hphyan ba<sup>22</sup> shig bon ba de  
 mithon nas | des bsams pa | bdi ni dge  
 slon gnas britan hgah shig yin | gor ma-  
 chag [145b2] snam nas des de bsu ste gnas  
 britan byon pa legs || byon pa legs || sbe-  
 byas pa dan | des amras pa | slob-dpon  
 phyag htshalo || ne-dgas bsams pa | kye ma  
 bdi ni rgan [145b3] shugs ḡig ste | slob  
 dpon yan mī ḡes rukhan po yan mī ḡeso  
 sūam nas | des de la smras pa | rgan shugs  
 khyod ga las hors rgya mtshohu hgram  
 naso || ci de na gtsug lag [145b4] khan yod  
 dam | des amras pa | gtsug lag khan yodo  
 || ci de gtsug lag khan yin nam | l on te  
 phos pa yin | gtsug lag khan ni ci hdra |  
 phons ba ni ci bdra | gan [145b5] na yo  
 byad thams-cad dan ldan pa ni gtsug lag  
 khan yin la | gan na yo-byad thams-cad  
 dan bral ba ni phons pa yino || de gtsug  
 lag khan yino || de-na ci yod de na dge-  
 slon [145b6] chos smra ba gnas te | de de-  
 na bram ze dan khyim bdag rnams la chos  
 ston bar byed-cin | de-dag gis de la chos  
 thos nas dge-slon glo-bur-du hons-ba dan |  
 l gro-bar chas ba [145b7] rnams la yo-  
 byad tīams-cad kyis stobs par byedo ||  
 drug sde-dag gi kun tu-spyod pa ni gan  
 cuñ zad ci tīos pa de pl yi h̄bred kyī dūs  
 kyī tshe ḡe ḡu hdus nas phan tshun rjod  
 par byed ba [146a1] yin pas | fe-dgah  
 gtsug lag khafi-du soñ ste | drug sde-dag la  
 amras-pa | tīe-dan ldan pa-dag bdag-cag  
 gis yun ji-sri l kyis bral ba span bar bya |  
 khyod kyis thos- [146a2] ba cuñ-sh ḡ yod  
 dam | fe-dgas amras-pa yode | rgya mtshohu  
 hgram na gtsug lag khafi yodo | de-na ci

Cf above 142b4 to 143b1 inclusive but  
 substitute seashore for desert place  
 on the earth', substitute a preaching  
 bhikṣu for 'a bhikṣu engaged in super-  
 intendence, substitute By them hav-  
 ing heard the Law there the bhikṣus who  
 happen for By him the bhikṣus who  
 happen

<sup>22</sup> Narthang reads *hphyar-ba* "bold aloft."

yod | de-na dge-sloñ chos-smra-ba gnas  
 te | de de-na bram-ze dañ khyim-bdag-  
 rnams-la [146a3] chos ston-par byed-ciñ |  
 de-dag-gis de-las chos thos-nas | dge-sloñ  
 glo-bur-du hoñs-pa dañ | lgro-bar chas-  
 pa-rnams-la yo-byad thams-cad-kyis stobs-  
 par byed-kyis | tshur-[146a4]og bdag-cag  
 der hdoñ-ñio || de-dag der doñ-ba dañ | des  
 de-dag thag-rin-po kho-na-nas boñs-pa  
 mthoñ-nas | des bsams-pa | gnas-ñan-len  
 kun-tu-spyod-pa de-dag hdir [146a5] hoñso  
 sñamo || des yañ bsams-pa | bdag  
 ldi-dag-la euñ-zad kyañ rag-lus-  
 pa med-na | ldi-dag-gis bdag-la  
 ei byar yod sñamo || de-nas rgya-  
 mtsho ehen-polhi klu de-dag  
 bram-ze dañ [146a6] khyim-  
 bdag-gi cha-lugs-kyis mñon-du  
 lhags-pa dañ | des de-dag-la chos  
 ston-to || de-dag-gis de-la chos  
 thos-nas dge-sloñ glo-bur-du  
 hoñs-pa dañ | lgro-bar chas-pa-  
 rnams-la [146a7] yo-byad thams-  
 cad-kyis bstabs-pa dañ | drug-  
 sde-dag-gis smras-pa | dgañ-bo  
 ñe-dgañ rgan-shugs<sup>23</sup> hdis ci-shig  
 ces | gcig-las-hphros-paño || ldi-  
 ni re-çig rdsu- [146b1] bas<sup>24</sup>  
 gcig-las-hphros-paño chos ston-  
 gyis | dge-sloñ ldi-dag-ni sde-  
 snod-gsum dañ ldan-pa | chos-  
 sgrogs-pa rigs-pa dañ grol-bañi  
 spobs-pa-can ça-stag yin-na | ci-  
 hi-pbyir ldi-dag-la gsol- [146b2]  
 ba mi ldebs | de-dag-gis de-la  
 smras-pa | rgan-shugs khyod-

[146a5] He thought: If I am not even a little subservient to them, what will they do to me? Thereupon those nāgas of the great ocean, clad as brahmans and [146a6] householders, approached, and he taught them the law. When, as they were hearing the law from him, bhikṣus happened to come and were on the point of leaving and were provided with all necessities [146a7], the Śāḍvargikas said: Nanda and Upananda, what does this elder know? The *Ekottarikā*. Since he... [146b1] teaches the law of the *Ekottarikā*, while these bhikṣus, possessing the tripitaka and preachers of the law, are only bold for what is proper and pertaining to salvation, why of them does [146b2] he not request instruction? They [tben] said to him

<sup>23</sup> From here to end cf. *Divyāvadāna* 329 and 707-8.

<sup>24</sup> *Re-çig rdsu-bas* I do not find in the dictionaries. *Re-çig*, "a short time," is found, but it makes no sense here. The Sanskrit is equally difficult; and FEER (*Divyā* 707, note 3) did nothing with the Tibetan.

kyis ci ces | des smras-pa | gcig-  
 las-hphros-paho || de-dag-gis  
 smras-pa | rgan-shugs khyod-ni  
 re-çig rdsu-bas [146b3] gcig-  
 las-hphros-pahi chos ston-gyi |  
 dge-sloñ hdi-dag-ni sde-snod-  
 gsum dañ-ldan-pa | chos sgrog-  
 pa rigs-pa dañ grol-bahi spobs-  
 pa-can ça-stag yin-na | ci-hi-  
 phyir hdi-dag-la gsol-[146b4] ba  
 mi hdebs | des smras-pa | hphags-  
 pa-dag bdag-gis bzlog-gam ci-na  
 khyed cihi-phyir chos mi ston |  
 de-dag-gis smras-pa | dgah-bo  
 ñe-dgah rgan-shugs hdi bdag-  
 cag dañ mi [146b5] mthun-par  
 byed-kyis gnas-nas dbyuñ-bali  
 las byaho || des bsams-pa | gal-  
 te bdag-la<sup>11</sup> gnas-nas dbyuñ-  
 babi las byas-na | kluhi gnasu  
 yañ skabs mi rñedo snam-nas |  
 des de-[146b6] dag ñal-ba dañ |  
 gtsug-lag-khañ de yañ mi snañ-  
 bar byas-te | rgya-mtsho chen-  
 por sbugso || de-dag bye-mahi  
 thañ-la ñal-shiñ hkhod hkhod  
 nas smras-pa | dgah-bo ñe-dgah  
 loñs-la [146b7] señ-gehi kbri  
 çoms-çig dañ | chos bstan-bar  
 byaho || de-dag-gis<sup>12</sup> ji-tsam-na  
 bdag-cag bye-mahi thañ-la ñal-  
 ba mthoñ-nas | de-dag-gis smras-  
 pa | bcom-ldan-hdas-la mñon-pa-  
 [147a1] dad-pa sañs-rgyas dañ

[the elder]: Elder, what do you know? He replied: The *Ekottarikā*. Since you . . . (as above in 146b1) [146b3] . . . [146b4] . . . He replied: Reverend Sirs, How do I oppose? Why do you not teach the law? They said: Nanda and Upananda, since this elder is not in sympathy with [146b5] us, expulsion from the monastery must be effected. He thought: If against me expulsion from the monastery is effected, an opportunity will not again be had in the abode of the nāgas. So thinking, he put them [146b6] to sleep, and rendering that monastery invisible, entered the great ocean. After having slept on the sandy beach they said: Nanda and Upananda, get up and, [146b7] when the lion-seat has been prepared, let the law be declared. When they perceived: we have been asleep on the sandy beach, they said: A believer in the Bhagavat [147a1] and one who had paid honor to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha was scorned by us, and then making the monastery disappear he departed. When they had asked: Who was this, a god, a nāga, or

<sup>11</sup> Narthang reads *de-dag-la*; Sanskrit, *me*.

<sup>12</sup> This clause, through *mthoñ-nas*, is omitted in the Skt



chos dañ dge-hdun-la mchod-pa  
 byed-pa shig bdag-cag-gis tho-  
 btsams-nas | gtsug-lag-khañ mi  
 snañ-bar byas-te soñ-ba de lha  
 ham | klu [147a2] ham | gnod-  
 sbyin nam | su yin shes zer-bahi  
 skabs-de | bcom-ldan-hdas-la  
 dge-sloñ-rnams-kyis gsol-pa dañ  
 | bcom-ldan-hdas-kyis bkah-  
 stsal-pa | dge-sloñ-dag dge[147  
 a3] sloñ chos-smra-ba de-ni  
 sprul-pa gañ yin-pa de-ñid yin-  
 te | gal-te dge-sloñ drug-sde-dag-  
 gis tho-btsams-par ma gyur-na  
 | bstan-pa mthar-tbug-gi bar-  
 du sañs-rgyas dañ chos dañ  
 [147a4] dge-hdun-dag-la mchod-  
 pa byed-par hgyuro || bcom-  
 ldan-hdas-kyis dgoñs-pa | ñes-  
 dmigs gañ ci byuñ-ba de-ni dge-  
 sloñ-dag ma-gsol-bar chos ston-  
 par byed-pa-las gyur-[147a5]pa  
 yin-no sñam-nas bkah-stsal-pa |  
 de-lta-bas na dge-sloñ-gis ma  
 gsol-bar chos bstan-bar mi  
 byaho || dge-sloñ ma gsol-bar  
 chos ston-na hgal-tshabs-can du  
 hgyuro || dehi [147a6] ñor<sup>27</sup>  
 hgron-đu<sup>28</sup> 'bos-pa-la-ni 'tuñ-ba  
 medo ||

[147a2] a yakṣa, the bhikṣus in-  
 quired of the Bhagavat, and the  
 Bhagavat declared: Bhikṣus,  
 that [147a3] preaching bhikṣu  
 was that same ghost. If [he]  
 had not been scorned by the  
 Saḍvargikas, as far as instruc-  
 tion permits, [he] would have  
 paid honor to the Buddha,  
 the Dharma [147a4], and the  
 Saṃgha. The Bhagavat re-  
 flected: The fault was this: O  
 bhikṣus, unsought, preaching  
 was done. [147a5]. So thinking,  
 he commanded: Such being the  
 case, the Bhikṣus must not teach  
 the Law unasked. If a bhikṣu  
 teaches the Law unasked, he be-  
 comes faulty. In this connec-  
 tion [147a6], for a guest there  
 is no sin.

<sup>27</sup> COWELL and NEIL translated "through this consideration," MONIER WILLIAMS has  
 "for this reason," but I would suggest "in this connection" The Skt is *tanmukhikayā*  
 I should expect the Skt version of this sentence to mean "The innocent, when involved  
 in this [sin], perish"

<sup>28</sup> For *hgron-du* Derge reads *mgron du*

# ZEHN PEKINGER LEGENDEN

VERDEUTSCHT VON

FRIEDRICH WELLER

UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG

Als ich am Sino-Indian Institute der Harvard University zu Peking tätig war, schrieb mein chinesischer Lehrer, Herr Tung Hsiang tschen 佟相臣 für mich eine Reihe Volkserzählungen in Umgangschinesisch der Peking Mundart 白話 nieder, sie entstammen seiner Angabe nach alle der mündlichen Überlieferung, wie sie in Peking umläuft. Aus dieser Sammlung stammen auch die vorliegenden zehn Erzählungen. Sie wurden von ihm alle als *gu shi* 故事 bezeichnet, deren Wesensart dahin bestimmt wurde, dass sie ein wirkliches, wahres Begehnis zum Gegenstande haben. Was in runden Klammern steht, habe ich dem Text gegenüber zugefügt, was in eckigen Klammern steht, steht in der üblichen Weise als erklärender Zusatz geschrieben auch in der Handschrift.

## 1 Der Schwindler

Die Machenschaften der Schwindler sind in der Welt alle voneinander verschieden. Es gibt ihrer, welche die Leute mit gefälschten Dingen beschwindeln, es gibt ihrer, welche die Leute mit lügnerischer Rede beschwindeln. Noch aber hat man keinen Schwindler gesehen, der die Leute mit einem Menschen beschwindelte. Es hört sich das wie ein bisschen uherspannt an, forscht man dann aber dem wirklich genau nach, so hat diese Rede doch gar sehr ihren Sinn.

Das Sprichwort sagt: "Wer sich nicht nach Vorteil gelusten lässt, leidet keinen Schaden." Dies Wort trifft wahrhaftig den Nagel auf den Kopf. Doch weshalb führen wir heute dies Wort an? Weil es eine alte Geschichte gibt, die wir erzählen wollen. Sie kann einen den Menschen in Wahrheit verahsennen, aber doch auch bemitleiden lassen.

Wenn ich sagen sollte an welchem Orte sich diese alte Geschichte zugetragen hat, so hat man zwar nicht vermeldet, wo es war. Nur das habe ich sagen hören, dass es zur Zeit der Mandschudynastie einen Mann gegeben hat, der alleweil keinen ehrsamem Beruf hatte,

sondern es einzig als sein Gewerbe betrieb, die Leute zu betrogen. Kommt man nun auf seine, dieses Schwindlers, Machenschaften zu sprechen, so waren sie von denen anderer Leute in Wahrheit gar sehr verschieden. Jeden Tag putzte er mit seiner Frau auch seine einzige Tochter von siebzehn bis achtzehn Jahren vorsätzlich so auf, als wären sie einer Fährnis entronnen. Mit sehr vielem Gepäck darauf trieb er einen Schubkarren vor sich her. Das Mädchen liess er sich auf den Karren setzen, er schob und seine Frau zog, gerade so, als wenn sie eben aus ferner Gegend kämen. Er betrat aber niemals die Stadt, sondern beging nur die Dorfer und Flecken auf dem Lande und wartete besonders darauf, dass der Lehrling irgend einer Handlung sich einen Urlaub erbeten hatte und nach Hause ging um seine Machenschaften ins Werk zu setzen, die Leute zu betrogen.

Eines Tages schob er seinen Schubkarren und kam an einen Flecken Waldes. In dem Walde sah er jemanden sitzen, und als er sich seine Art betrachtete, da sah er aus wie ein Handlungslehrling. Er war an die zwanzig Jahre alt und rubte dort aus. Da stellte er darauf seinen Schubkarren nieder, ging auch hinein und tat so, als ob er sich ein wenig ausruhen wollte. Als er hineingekommen war, tat er mit jenem (anderen) Manne zuerst schon, und dann sprach er: "Sie sind hierher wohl aus der Stadt gekommen?" Darauf sagte jener Mann: "Jawohl!" Aus Frage und Antwort der beiden Leute entwickelte sich dann eine Unterhaltung. Hernach wollte jener Mann diesen (Schubkarrenschieber) natürlich auch fragen und er sprach: "Wohin geht Ihr jetzt?" Da sagte er: "Wir haben im Sinne nach Peking zu gehen, einen Unterschlupf bei Verwandten zu suchen, weil in diesem Jahre an jenem unserem Wohnplatze die Feldfrucht nicht gut stand und wir keine Ernte hatten, und ferner, weil es in Stromen so stark geregnet hat, dass unser Wohnhaus unter der Wasserflut eingestürzt ist. Des weiteren füge ich zu, dass es dort bei uns noch Schnapphahne gibt. Ich habe eine so grosse Tochter. Sollte sie mir von den Schnapphahnen entführt werden, wie wäre das gut? So habe ich mich mit Mutter und Tochter aufgemacht nach Peking. Im Hause von Verwandten, das ich aufsuche, will ich fürs erste etliche Tage Wohnung nehmen und darnach auf eine Möglichkeit denken. Gerade heraus gesagt, wegen dieser meiner Tochter schwebt mein Herz stündlich in Unruhe. Wenn wirklich etwas passieren sollte, sagen Sie, wäre das dumm oder nicht? Waren nur wir zwei, Mann und Frau, so hätte es nicht viel auf sich, waren Schnapphahne da, fürchteten wir sie auch nicht. Nun ich diese Tochter habe, bin ich wirklich schlimm

dran. Wenn jetzt ein geeigneter junger Mann da wäre, so wäre es mir einerlei, ob seine Familie arm ist oder reich. Sofern er nur nicht hasslich von Ansehen ist, und die Zahl seiner Lebensjahre nicht zu stark von der meiner Tochter abweicht, möchte ich ihm meine Tochter zur Frau geben." Jener (junge) Mann sprach (darauf): "Den muss man mit der Zeit suchen." Da sagte dieser Schubkarrenschieber: "Wenn ich Sie ansehe, waren Sie mir gleich ganz recht. Wenn Sie es willens sind, so gehe ich Ihnen meine Tochter, und wir schliessen die Heirat. Ist es Ihnen recht? Wir beide, Mann und Frau, hatten auch eine Stutze. Ich möchte hinzufügen, dass mir auch dann meine tagliche Bedrücktheit erspart bliebe." Wie jener Handlungslehrling das gehört hatte, sagte er: "Das geht nicht an. Bei mir daheim habe ich meine Eltern, und meine Eltern machen sich in Sachen meiner Verlobung bestimmt ihre Plane. Warten Sie, bis ich heimgekehrt bin und es meinen Eltern gesagt habe, dann wollen wir zwei es weiter besprechen." Da sagte dieser Schubkarrenschieber: "Das hat doch nichts auf sich. Geh Du zuvorderst mit meiner Tochter eine Heirat ein und kehr darauf mit ihr heim. Ich denke, wenn Deine Eltern sehen, dass Du eine Frau hast, wird es ihnen da noch unerwünscht sein können? Ganz sicher werden sie erfreut sein." Darauf sagte jener Lehrsburche: "Ich habe kein Geld zum Heiraten." Darauf sagte dieser Karrenschieber: "Es ist nicht nötig, dass Du Geld verpulverst. Keine weiteren Worte zu verschwenden. Du brauchst jetzt auch keine Brautsanfte zu mieten. Wir suchen ein zweiraumiges Haus und wahlen einen glückhaften Tag aus. Dann bringt Ihr als Brautigam und Braut den Gottern Eure Verehrung dar und seid verheiratet." Wie jener Handlungsgehilfe das gehört hatte, da sagte er: "Nun gut! Wir wollen es denn so machen!" Man denke einmal: Einem jungen Menschen widerfährt etwas derartiges: er befindet sich unterwegs, und weil er sich verschnauft und sich mit jemandem unterhält, bekommt er eine Frau. Kann einer da noch nicht hochgestimmt sein? Natürlich war er so hochgestimmt, wie er es mehr gar nicht hatte sein können. Woher hatte er denn wissen sollen, dass dieser Schuhkarrenschieber eben ein Schwindler war?

Aber lassen wir das einstweilen und sprechen nur davon, dass er zu dieser Zeit jener Sache zugestimmt hatte. Geschwind suchten sie darauf ein Haus, und glücklicherweise war da in der Nahe ein zweizimmeriges Haus ungewohnt. Um die Sache kurz zu machen: die vier Leute zogen dann dahin um

Am nächsten Tage sagte dieser Schubkarrenschieber zu jenem

Lehrling "Da Du in diesen paar Tagen meine Tochter heiraten wirst, müssen wir doch noch zwei neue Gewänder machen. Ich gebe Dir Geld, geh Du in die Stadt hinein, in einem Tuchladen ein bisschen Stoff zu kaufen, damit wir sie machen, und damit ihr nach Fertigstellung heiraten könnt." Nach diesen Worten öffnete er eine Truhe und nahm einen Silberling heraus. Dann übergab er ihn jenem Lehrling und sprach darauf weiter: "Siehst Du im Laden Seide, welche gut ist, die kauf!" Jener Lehrbursche nahm den Silberling in Empfang und wollte darauf gehen. In dem Augenblicke sagte die Tochter des Schubkarrenschiebers, welche nebenbei stand: "Du solltest vorerst noch nicht einkaufen gehen. Das Essen ist jetzt gerade fertig. Geh dann, wenn Du gegessen hast! Ist Dir 's so recht?" Wie dieser Lehrbursche das hörte, sprach er bei sich: "Noch haben wir, meine Frau und ich, den Göttern unsere Verehrung als Eheleute nicht dargebracht, und doch denkt sie so an mich und befürchtet, dass mir der Magen vor Hunger knurren wird, wenn ich fortgehe, ohne gegessen zu haben. Sie ist wirklich ein Mensch, der meinem Herzen nahe steht." Darauf sagte er: "Nun gut! So will ich denn nach dem Essen gehen."

Nach dem Essen ging er dann. Als er in den Tuchladen gekommen war und seinen Kauf abgeschlossen hatte, zog er seinen Silberling heraus und gab ihn dem Handlungsgehilfen. Als der andere den Silberling in Empfang genommen und ihn sich angesehen hatte, sprach er: "Dieser Dein Silberling ist falsch!" Da sagte der Lehrbursche: "Mein Silberling ist nicht falsch!" Der Handlungsgehilfe sagte: "Er ist falsch," und er sagte: "Er ist nicht falsch!" Je mehr sie sprachen, umso lauter wurden ihre Stimmen. Da fingen sie denn auch schon an sich zu prügeln, und als sie sich einen halben Tag lang geprügelt hatten — ob es da noch jemanden gab, der ihnen gut zuredet hätte? Sicherlich waren Leute da, die ihnen gut zuredeten. Überdem sie ihnen zuredeten und zuredeten, da sahen sie — man wusste auch nicht, weswegen es eigentlich der Fall war — wie er nach hintenüber langelang tot hinfiel. Wie die anderen das sahen, da waren sie alle ohne Fassung.

Zu dieser Zeit kam jener Schubkarrenschieber an. Als er vor die Türe des Tuchladens gekommen war und sah, dass gar viele Menschen im Kreise herumstanden, und da er nicht wusste, was los war, ging er hinzu, einmal zu gucken. Da lag auf der Erde ein Toter ausgestreckt auf dem Rücken, und es war niemand anders als sein Schwiegersohn. Da sagte er: "Das ist vielleicht gut! Ich sage: Mein Schwiegersohn ist einen halben Tag lang nicht zurückgekehrt. Er ist

ganz sicher von Euch Leuten des Ladens erschlagen worden. Nun gut! Wir wollen die Sache bei Gerichte anhangig machen. Ganz ohne jede Frage habt Ihr für meinen Schwiegersohn Euer Leben verwirkt." Da sagten die Leute des Ladens: "In welcher Beziehung stehst Du denn zu dem Toten?" Darauf sagte er: "Ich bin der Schwiegervater des Toten. Ich gab ihm heute einen Silberling und hiess ihn zu Euch hierher gehen, Tuch zu kaufen. Wie kommt Ihr dazu, ihn zu erschlagen? Das geht nicht! Wir werden einen Prozess haben." Da sagten die Leute des Ladens: "Euer Schwiegersohn kam, bei uns hier Tuch zu kaufen, doch verwendete er einen falschen Silberling. Denkt einmal nach! Können wir uns diesen Betrug gefallen lassen?" Da sagte jener Schubkarrenschieber: "Ihr braucht jetzt nicht davon zu reden, ob der Silberling echt war oder falsch. Er ist jetzt von Euch erschlagen worden. Wir wollen jetzt aufs Gericht, oder uns privatim auseinandersetzen!"

Zu der Zeit waren dann Leute da, die ihm gut zuredeten. Er (aber) sprach: "Wenn es vor Gericht geschehen soll, so wollen wir jetzt sofort aufs Yamen prozessieren gehen, soll es privatim beigelegt werden, so bringt Ihr Geld, gebt es mir, ich beerdige ihn, und damit hat es sein Bewenden!" Nun denke man doch! Wer von den Kaufleuten hatte Lust zu prozessieren. Sie brachten natürlich etliche hundert Silberlinge, und damit war es zu Ende. Als er die Silberlinge in die Hand bekommen hatte, beerdigte er darauf heizzeiten den Lehrburschen.

Da wir in unserer Erzählung bis hierher gekommen sind, so wollen wir nun noch sagen, auf welche Weise der Lehrbursche gestorben ist, es liegt doch ein Sinn darin.

Weil, noch ehe er das Tuch kaufte, seine Frau ihn hiess, erst kaufen zu gehen, nachdem er gegessen hatte, hatten sie damals Gift in das Essen getan. Sie wussten genau, dass er zu eben der Zeit nicht sterben konnte, es musste erst eine Zeit von ein bis zwei Stunden vergehen, bis die Wirkung des Giftes eintrat. Er wurde es natürlich nicht gewahr und starb dann. Weshalb ging sonst jener Schubkarrenschieber eben falls zu dem Tuchladen hin? Er ging doch nur darum, weil er es wusste. Der Grund war der, dass er den Tuchladen beschwindeln wollte. Dergleichen Leute sind wirklich höchst abscheulich.

Was nun jenen Lehrburschen angeht, wie hatte er sterben können, wenn er sich nicht nach Vorteil hatte gelustet lassen? Er ist bemitleidenswert. Wenn man es erzählt, kann man den Menschen wirklich einen Schrecken einjagen.

Ich habe sagen hören, dass dieser Schwindler, nachdem er den

Tuchladen beschwindelt hatte, des ferneren anderswo auf Schwindelen ausging. Darauf, man weiss auch nicht wie, kam es dem Yamen zur Kenntnis, dass er ein Schwindler war. Man sandte Beamte aus, ihn an jedwedem Orte festzunehmen. Darauf verhafteten sie ihn und er wurde von der Regierung enthauptet. Damit ist die Geschichte aus.

## 2 Die Ratte

Ich habe die Leute sagen hören: "Wenn vor alters die Menschen, unangesehen ob es Männer oder Frauen waren, das sechzigste Lebensjahr erreicht hatten, und sie nicht starben, so hatte der Hof die Bestimmung getroffen gehabt, dass sie lebendig begraben werden mussten." Nach dem, was die Leute sagen, hatte man dies festgesetzt, weil für betagte Leute keine Verwendung mehr wäre. Nach dieser Bestimmung wäre es allen Leuten im Reiche gegangen.

Zu jener Zeit nun habe es einen Minister gegeben, zwar weiss man nicht, unter welcher Dynastie es war noch zur Zeit welches Kaisers, doch erzählt man, dass diesem Minister sein Vater eines Jahres gerade sechzig Jahre alt wurde. Gemäss der von der Regierung getroffenen Bestimmung hätte er ihn auch lebendig begraben sollen. Nur dachte der Minister, sein Vater wäre noch gar nicht gestorben, wie sollte er es da wagen, ihn lebendig zu begraben? Ihn nicht begraben, das bedeutete, sich dem Willen des Kaisers widersetzen, ihn begraben, das hätte ihm wirklich das Herz gebrochen. Er dachte demnach auf einen Ausweg. In seinem Hause schachtete er einen Keller aus und bat seinen Vater, sich da drinnen aufzuhalten. Er sandte jeden Tag jemanden, der ihm Tee und Essen brachte. Herauskommen liess er ihn nicht, fürchtete er doch, der Hof erlaube sein strafliches Vergehen. Es war dies schon eine vorsichtige Art und Weise.

Doch einstweilen wollen wir nicht weiter davon reden, sondern davon erzählen, dass der Minister eines Tages in Ausübung seines Amtes zur Audienz ging. Plötzlich war da vom Auslande ein wildes Tier als Geschenk dargebracht worden, dabei hatte man den Hof ersucht festzustellen, wie es mit Namen zu nennen sei.

Zu der Zeit hatte der Kaiser einen Ukas erlassen, welcher befahl, dass jeder Minister seine Erklärung abgäbe. Nur — die Minister konnten es alle nicht. Sie sahen bloss, dass jenes Ding einem Pferde ähnelte und doch kein Pferd war, dass es einem Elefanten ähnelte und doch kein Elefant war, dass aschfarbene Haut und Haare waren und es zwei

kleine Augen hatte, der Körper die Grosse eines Esels hatte Als alle Minister es angesehen hatten, war dncb keiner da, der es gekannt hatte

Da erhess der Kaiser einen Ukas, der auf drei Tage befristet war und hesagte "Wenn unter all den hohen und niederen Militar- und Zivilbeamten einer ist, welcher den Namen des Tieres kennt, der wird zur selhen Stunde im Amte befrndert"

Als die Audienz aus war, und nachdem der Minister heimgekehrt war, da sah sein Vater, dass sein Gesicht niedergeschlagen aussah Da fragte er ihn rasch und sprach "Jeden Tag, wenn Du von der Audienz kamst, warst Du eine einzige Freude Weshalb bist Du heute so niedergeschlagen?" Wie er das gehrt hatte, theilte er seinem Vater die heutige Angelegenheit Punkt fur Punkt mit Als sein Vater das gehort hatte, sprach er "Wenn Du morgen wieder zur Audienz gehst, so verstecke in Deinem Armel eine Katze! Wenn jenes Ding die sieht und seine Ohren nach hinten legt, ist es sicher eine Ratte" Als der Minister das gehort hatte, da nahm er am nachsten Tage nach der Art, die ihm sein Vater gesagt hatte, eine Katze und ging darauf zur Audienz Als er zur Audienz kam sass der Kaiser oben in der Audienzhalle und fragte wieder vom Throne herab "Schliesslich und endlich was ist das fur ein Ding?" Da liess der Minister die Katze heraus, und darnach sab er, dass sich beide Ohren dieses Dinges nach hinten legten und es aussah, als furchte es sich Da berichtete der Minister geschwind an den Thron und sprach "Es ist eine Ratte" Wie der Kaiser das gehrt hatte, gab er an die Auslander eine Erklarung ab, doch lassen wir das auf sich beruhen!

Darnach aber fragte er den Minister noch und sprach "Woher wusstest Du, dass es eine Ratte ist?" Darauf sprach er "Ich habe es ganz und gar nicht gewusst, es ist vielmehr mein Vater, der es mir gesagt hat" Da sprach der Kaiser "Wieviel Jahre zahlt Dein Vater jetzt? Woher wusste er es?" Wie der Minister das gehort hatte, machte er rasch vor dem Kaiser Kotnu und sprach "Mein Vater ist dies Jahr sechzig Jahre alt geworden, nach der gesetzlichen Bestimmung hatte ich ihn lebendig hegraben müssen Ich dachte aber, wir waren doch Vater und Sohn, und es hatte mir deshalb das Herz gehrochen Deshalb schachtete ich in meinem Hause einen Keller aus und bat meinen Vater hineinzugehen Ich brachte ihm Essen Ich habe mich jetzt dem Gebnte des Hofes widersetzt, ich bin dessen schuldig, meinen Herrscher hintergangen zu haben und muss die Strafe auf mich nehmen"

Wie der Kaiser das gehort hatte, sprach er "Das ist ein ehrer-



hietiger Sohn! Ja, nach dem Augenscheine zu urteilen, sind es wieder die Alten, welche Einsicht besitzen" Da tadelte er sein Vergehen nicht, und hernach erliess er ein Gebot, nach dem die Bestimmung vom lebendig Begraben werden aufgehoben wurde

### 3 Wie eine Frau in ihrem Hause Geld bekommt

Geschichten erzählen, Schauspiele aufführen und auch Schnurren erzählen, das ist im Grunde alles etwas, was den Menschen ermahnen, ihn bewegen soll, eine gute Gesinnung zu bewahren und Gutes zu beabsichtigen, auf dass ihm für die Zukunft eine gute Vergeltung sicher sei. Sagt doch schon das Sprichwort "Einem guten Menschen wird mit Gutem vergolten". Das ist aber eben dieser Gedanke.

Ich habe sagen hören, dass in einer Familie eine Mutter mit ihrem Sohne war. Die Frau war über vierzig Jahre alt. Seitdem ihr Mann gestorben war, war im Hause auch nicht der geringste Besitz vorhanden. Sie wusch deshalb selber für andere Leute ein hisschen Wasche und Kleider und nähte etwas. Mit dem verdienten Gelde verbrachte sie zusammen mit ihrem zehnjährigen Sohne ihr Teil kummervolle Tage. Wiewohl die Wittfrau arm war, wollte sie doch die Mittel beschaffen, ihren Sohn in die Schule zu schicken. Sie hoffte, wenn ihr Sohn herangewachsen wäre, würde er sich einen Namen machen, damit sie selber ein hisschen Glückes genosse. Es ist zuzufügen, dass die Frau niemals jemandem etwas zu Leide getan hatte. Tagtäglich ging der Sohn gesenkten Kopfes zur Schule und ging gesenkten Kopfes<sup>1</sup> weg, weshalb ihn diese Frau wie eine helle Perle liebte, welche sie in der Hand hielt.

Eines Tages, in der Nacht, als die zwei gerade schlafen gegangen waren, da hörte sie jemanden über sich reden und sagen "Ich will hinabfallen, ich will hinabfallen". Die Frau hob den Kopf hoch einmal nachzusehen, es war aber niemand da. Sie war in ihrem Herzen aufs höchste erschrocken und dachte "Auf dem Hause ist niemand, wie kann es da sprechen? Sicherlich wird das Haus einstürzen wollen". Doch kummerte sich zu dieser Zeit die Frau nicht weiter darum.

Am nächsten Tage sagte dann die Frau zu ihrem Sohne "Ohne dass etwas dagewesen wäre, hat es vergangene Nacht im Hause gesprochen 'Ich will hinunterfallen, ich will hinunterfallen'. Hast Du das gehört?" Da sagte das Kind "Ich habe nichts gehört, weil ich

<sup>1</sup> Das gilt als Zeichen wohlstandiger Bescheidenheit.

geschlafen habe" Die Frau sagte darauf "Ich denke mir, es wird gewiss ein gottlicher Buddha gewesen sein, der uns zwei einen Wink gab, und uns heisst uns davonzumachen" Das Kind sagte da "Das hat nichts auf sich Woher sollte unser Haus einstürzen können? Es ist höchst solid" Als die Frau die Worte ihres Kindes gehört hatte, dachte sie (zwar) "Da hat er auch recht," aber schliesslich blieb in ihrem Herzen doch dauernd die Furcht zurück Da sagte das Kind 'Sie brauchen sich nicht zu fürchten Wenn es morgen wieder sprechen sollte 'Ich will hinabfallen ich will hinabfallen,' dann sagen Sie 'Fall nur runter' Nimm Dich aber in Acht, dass Du uns zwei nicht zermalmst!'" Darauf sagte die Frau "Jawohl!" Sie erwähnte dann zu der Zeit die Angelegenheit nicht weiter

Als es in der Nacht wirklich wieder die Worte sprach "Ich will hinabfallen ich will hinabfallen!" da sagte die Frau "Fall nur runter!" Eben als sie das nun sprach da horte sie oben ein Gerassel und von der Decke fiel ein Kasten hernieder Da die Frau nun nicht wusste was darinnen war, hob sie ihn geschwind auf und öffnete ihn, einmal nachzusehen Da war der ganze Kasten innen mit Silberlingen angefüllt Wie die Frau das gesehen hatte, da war sie aufs höchste erfreut, und sie sprach darauf "Das ist sicher ein Geschenk des Himmels" Darauf brach sie gegen den Himmelsraum ihren Dank dar

Was war nun aber der Grund dafür? Weil die Frau gegen die Menschen sehr wohlgesinnt, sie in ihrem Herzen auch nicht ein bisschen pflichtvergessen war, darum half ihr nun insgeheim der gottliche Buddha Späterhin kaufte sich die Frau mit diesen Silberlingen ein kleines Besitzthum, und hinfort war die Frau vermögend

#### 4 Wie einer im Meere ein Kleinod gewinnt

Ich habe sagen hören dass ehemals ein Mann war, der weder Familie noch Besitz hatte Er verliess sich auf sein Handwerk, und da er jeden Tag Geld verdiente hatte er sein Essen Aber was für ein Handwerk war es denn? Nun er war ein Maurer Tag für Tag ging er auf Arbeit und gegen Abend kehrte er heim Er wohnte in einem Tempel anderer Leute

Eines Tages nun war er wieder auf Arbeit gegangen, und weil er etwas später Feierabend gemacht hatte, sprach er bei sich, als er am Ufer eines Meeres ging "Heute bin ich recht müde Ich konnte mich deshalb zuvorderst hier etwas niedersetzen und dann weitergehen"

Überdem er das bei sich sprach, nahm er darauf seinen Ziegelhammer,<sup>2</sup> seine Kelle, die eiserne Schaufel und was er sonst noch hatte und legte es auf den Boden nieder. Dann nahm er seine Tabakspfeife heraus und gedachte, währenddem er am Ufer niedergesessen war um etwas auszuruhen, ein Pfeifchen zu schmauchen, dann wollte er weitergehen.

Gerade als er niedergesessen war, da horte er im Meere ein ohrenbetäubendes Rauschen. Als das Rauschen vorbei war, da sah er aus dem Meeresinneren einen Mann herauskommen. Auf dem Kopfe trug er eine Mutze mit roten Fransen<sup>3</sup> und in der Hand hielt er eine Befehlshaberstandarte. Was es damit für eine Bewandnis hatte, wusste er jedoch nicht. Da hörte er den Mann sagen: "Was treibst Du? Weshalb sitzt Du hier?" Darauf sagte der Maurer: "Ich bin ein Maurer. Weil ich heute Abend etwas später Feierabend gemacht habe, überkam mich auf meinem Marsche hierher die Müdigkeit, und ich ruhe etwas aus." Da sagte jener Mann: "Du brauchst hier nicht zu ruhen. Dass Du ein Maurer bist, das trifft sich ganz ausgezeichnet. Wir wollen hierinnen gerade Häuser aushessern. Vor einigen Tagen sagte mein Herr zu mir und trug mir auf: 'Such mir einen Maurer!' Dass Du jetzt hier sitzt, das trifft sich glücklich. Komm' Ich will mit Dir an eine Stätte gehen, dass Du dort Dein Gewerbe ausföhrst." Wie der Maurer das gehört hatte, da sagte er: "Wohin soll 's denn gehen?" Darauf sprach jener Mann: "Es ist also hier im Meere." Da sagte der Maurer: "Das geht nicht! Wie soll ich in ein so grosses Wasser hineingehen?" Da sprach jener (andere) Mann: "Das hat nichts auf sich. Krähle Du auf mich, ich huckle Dich auf und gehe hinein. Dann gehts. Du aber hute Dich unter allen Umständen, die Augen aufzumachen! Halte sie mit aller Kraft geschlossen! Wenn ich Dich heissen werde, sie aufzumachen, dann mach sie wieder auf!" Darauf sagte der Maurer: "Ich verstehe aber nicht zu schwimmen. Hernach lässt Du mich ertrinken." Da sagte jener Mann: "Sei guten Mutes! Ich lasse Dich nicht ertrinken. Lass Dir sagen, dass ich drinnen Oberstkommandierender der Torwache bin." Als der Maurer das gehört hatte, da sprach er: "Nun gut!" Darnach krähhelte er auf den Mann hinauf. Der Mann nahm ihn auf den Rücken und ging fort. Als sich aber der Maurer auf jenem Manne befand, da sprach er bei sich: "Wenn der mich unterwegs ins Meer wirft, ist es bestimmt

<sup>2</sup> Dies Gerät, eigentlich Ziegelmesser genannt, ist ein eisernes, spatelförmiges Werkzeug, die Ziegel zuzuschlagen

<sup>3</sup> Ehedem Zeichen der Beamten

um mich geschehen" Folglich hielt er die Augen geschlossen. Da horte er das Wasser ohrenbetaubend rauschen, aber unbeschadet wie laut es war, wagte er doch nicht, die Augen aufzumachen. Es war nichts weiter zu wollen, in seinem Herzen aber war er ganz voller Furcht.

Als er nach nicht gar langer Zeit wieder hinhorte, rauschte das Wasser nicht mehr und der Mann, welcher ihn auf dem Rucken trug, sprach "Nun gut! Wir sind angekommen. Mache die Augen auf!" Da machte der Maurer die Augen auf, und als er sich einmal umschaute da war kein Wasser mehr da. Vor sich sah er ein grosses Thor, beim Gebäude innerhalb war ein mehrstöckiges Haus neben dem anderen. In einem ununterbrochenen Strome gingen Leute ein und aus. Der Mann, welcher ihn auf dem Rucken getragen hatte, setzte ihn auf die Erde ab und sprach "Warte Du hier ein Weilehen! Ich gehe hinein, Meldung zu erstatten." Darauf sagte der Maurer. "Jawohl! Doch ich möchte mich bei Ihnen erkundigen, was das für ein Platz ist?" Da sagte der Mann, welcher ihn auf dem Rucken getragen hatte "Das ist das Kristallschloss. Mein Herr ist der Drachenkönig." Wie der Maurer das gehört hatte, da sprach er bei sich "Vortrefflich! Ganz sicher bin ich ins Kristallschloss gekommen."

Doch befassen wir uns nicht weiter mit dem Maurer, der am Tore wartete, sondern reden nur davon, dass der Mann, welcher ihn auf dem Rucken getragen hatte, hineinging und zum Drachenkönig sprach "Jetzt ist ein Maurer gekommen. Haben Sie nicht gesagt, Sie wollten das Haus ausbessern?" Darauf sprach der Drachenkönig. "Jawohl! Wo ist er?" Der Mann, welcher den Maurer auf dem Rucken getragen hatte, sprach darauf "Er ist am Tore." Da sprach der Drachenkönig "Komm Du mit ihm herbei!" Darauf sagte der Untergebene "Jawohl!", wandte sich und ging. Als er hinausgekommen war, winkte er dem Maurer einmal mit der Hand und sprach "Komm Du herein!" Als der Maurer hineinging und sich dabei einmal umguckte, da war ihm gegenüber das Kristallschloss. Auf beiden Seiten waren entsprechende Flügelgebäude. Alle hatten sie geschnitzte Säulen und gemalte Balken. Im Garten waren allerhand seltsame Blumen und ungewöhnliche Gräser gepflanzt. Am Treppenaufgange zum Schlosse waren oben und unten gar viele Leute aufgestellt, allem Anscheine nach alles Beamte.

Als er an den Fuss des Treppenaufganges gekommen war, sprach jener Mann, welcher ihn aufgehockelt hatte "Zuvorderst bleib hier stehen! Ich gehe hinein Meldung erstatten. Wenn ich Dich rufen werde,

dann komm herem!" Da sagte der Maurer "So soll's geschehen!" Und als er wieder eine Weile gewartet hatte, da ging er in dessen Geleit hinein ins Innere des Palastes. Als er bineingekommen war und sich einmal umguckte, da waren drinnen allerhand Geratschaften aufgestellt, von allem ganz verschieden. Ach! er wusste sie alle nicht mit Namen zu nennen. Doch als er den Kopf aufhob, sich einmal umzugucken, da erblickte er an der Wand einen kleinen Flaschenkurbis, der da hing. Der Gegenstand war ihm bekannt.

Gerade wie er sich da umguckte — die Zeit war gar kurz gewesen — da sah er einen alten Herren mit einem sympathischen, guten Ausdrucke im Gesichte herauskommen. Der sprach zu ihm "Ich habe die Absicht gehabt, einen Maurer kommen zu lassen. Du bist Maurer?" Da sagte der Maurer "Jawohl!" Darauf sprach jener alte Herr "Nun gut! Geh Du! Ich habe hier hinten einige Häuser, die bessere Du aus!" Um die Sache kurz zu machen, er ging darauf im Meere seinem Handwerke nach.

Als er einige Tage gearbeitet hatte, wurde er eines Tages fertig, und er sprach zu jenem Oberbefehlshaber der Torwache, in dessen Geleite er zuerst gekommen war "Jetzt sind alle Häuser fertig ausgehessert, sehen Sie es sich einmal an!" Darauf sprach der Oberbefehlshaber der Torwache "Schon! Ich gehe für Dich Meldung erstatten. Doch da ist noch etwas. Ich will Dir sagen, wenn Dich mein Herr fragt, wieviel Geld Du dafür forderst, so sage ihm dann 'Sie brauchen mir kein Geld zu geben. Schenken Sie mir jenen kleinen Flaschenkurbis, der in Ihrem Palaste an der Wand hängt! Das ist genug!'" Da sprach der Maurer "Wozu kann man denn diesen Flaschenkurbis brauchen?" Darauf sprach jener Oberbefehlshaber der Torwache "Jenes Ding ist etwas ganz Kostliches. Was Du haben willst, das ist darinnen." Da sagte der Maurer "Kann es mir der Drachenkönig geben?" Darauf sagte der Oberbefehlshaber der Torwache "Wenn mein Herr gesehen hat, dass Du Deinem Gewerbe gut ausgeführt hast, und er sich darüber freut, so gibt er ihn Dir wohl. Wenn er ihn Dir wird gegeben haben, und Du ihn hinterher benutzen wirst, so mach Du den Schnurpfel des Flaschenkurbisses auf und sag hinein, was immer Du haben willst. Wenn Du es wirst gesagt haben, so nimm den Flaschenkurbis auf und schüttle ihn tüchtig! Doch musst Du dabei die Augen schliessen. Weiter sage ich Dir. Warte ein Weilchen, eh Du die Augen wieder öffnest. Darnach sind die Dinge, welche Du haben willst, für Dich herestgestellt. Was Du zum Beispiele essen willst, das ist dann für Dich

mit einer Schale und was sonst dazu gehört vor Deinen Augen heretgestellt Bist Du aber fertig mit Essen, so nimm den Flaschen kurbis wieder auf und sprich in ihn hinein 'Nimm das Geschirr wieder zurück in Empfang!' Du mußt aber wieder die Augen schliessen und ein Weilchen warten, dann öffne sie wieder! Wenn Du wieder wirst hingucken, dann wird nichts mehr da sein" Wie der Maurer das gehört hatte, sprach er "So will ich es halten!"

Als nun der Drachenkönig diesen Maurer sah, da fragte er ihn und sprach "Wieviel Geld forderst Du?" Da sprach er entsprechend der Weisung, welche der Oberbefehlshaber der Wache ihm soeben hatte werden lassen Wider Erwarten gab ihm darauf der Drachenkönig jenen kleinen Flaschenkurbis wirklich Dann sprach er zum Oberbefehlshaber der Torwache "Geleite Du ihn hinaus!" Er nahm seinen Flaschenkurbis in Empfang, stattete seinen Dank ab und krabbelte wieder nach der Art, da er zuerst gekommen war, auf den Oberbefehlshaber der Torwache, dann ging es hinaus Als sie an das Ufer gekommen waren, setzte ihn jener Mann auf die Erde ab und sprach zu ihm "Die Art und Weise, welche ich Dir gesagt habe, die wirst Du doch im Gedächtnis behalten haben?" Er sagte "Jawohl, wirklich!"

Jener Mann kehrte zurück, lassen wir ihn! Reden wir wieder vom Maurer! Als er mit dem Flaschenkurbis nach Hause zurückgekehrt war, da dachte er "Das ist doch wirklich eine seltsame Geschichte! Wie konnte ich ins Meer gehen, dort mein Gewerbe ausüben und ferner etwas so Kostbares bekommen? Die Geschichte ist, mit einem Worte gesagt, etwas aussergewöhnlich Noch steht es aber nicht fest, ob das wahr sei oder falsch Ich will darum zuvorderst einen Versuch machen!" Darauf nahm er den Flaschenkurbis auf und verfuhr einmal nach jener Art und Weise Er wartete eine Weile, und wie er dann hinguckte, da waren wirklich die Dinge aufgestellt, nach denen er verlangt hatte Da sagte er "Das ist ja ganz famos! Wider alles Erwarten habe ich ein solches Ding bekommen dass ich morgen nicht auf Arbeit zu gehen brauche Was nimmer ich mir ausdenke, das kommt, wenn ich es von diesem Flaschenkurbis fordere"

Am nächsten Tage, da wollte er den Flaschenkurbis aufnehmen in der Absicht, wieder etwas zu fordern Aber ohne dass etwas gewesen wäre erwischte er ihn nicht Der Flaschenkurbis fiel auf die Erde nieder, ein Licht flammte auf, und er war nicht mehr da Wie der Maurer das gesehen hatte, sprach er bei sich "Ich habe wieder kein

Glück gehabt Ich konnte ihn nicht festhalten " Hernach ubte er hupsch sein Maurergewerbe wieder aus, und damit ist die Geschichte aus

### 5 Die Besserung

Wenn jemand Weihrauch verbrennt, um Buddha seine Verehrung darzubringen, muss er selbst in guter Gesinnung verharren und gute Werke tun Dann wird ihn der Buddha ganz gewiss im Verborgenen beschützen Wenn man aber, nachdem man Weihrauch verbrannt hat, wieder wie fruher Boses wirkt und Sunde tut, so ist es schon besser, keinen Weihrauch zu verbrennen Trifft doch, was das Sprichwort sagt, den Nagel auf den Kopf "Buddha sitzt im Herzen " Wenn eines Herze gut ist, man d'heim Vater und Mutter kindlichen Gehorsam erweist und draussen die Alteren und Oberen ehrt, so ist das entschieden wirk-samer, als Weihrauch zu verbrennen Aber weshalb reden wir wieder davon? Weil es eine alte Geschichte gibt, die ich jetzt einmal erzahlen will

Nach dem, was die Leute erzahlen, war ehemdem im Osten von Peking—zwar, welches Dorf es war, das sagte man nicht—da war also, wie sie sagten, eine Frau, bei welcher ihr Sohn lebte Mutter und Sohn waren selbander auf einige Acker Landes angewiesen, ihre Tage zu fristen Auch nicht an einem einzigen Tage tat dieser Sohn der Frau das Geringste, ausser Essen, Trinken und Herumbummeln Ebnenwertes gab es nichts Ueberdem lebte er, wenn er draussen war, hemmungslos, und dabei war nichts, wobei er nicht noch seine Launen ausgelassen hatte War es nicht der Besen, der schief stand, dann war die Kehrrechtschaufel nicht gerade gestellt Es gab auch rein gar nichts, wobei er seiner Mutter nicht zugesetzt hatte War das Essen fertig gestellt, so ass zunachst einmal er Er musste erst etwas vom Essen ubrig lassen, dass dann seine Mutter essen durfte War *eine Zeit, da er schlechter Stimmung war, dann polterte er gegen seine Mutter einen Schwall los mit Schumpfen und Schmahen* Wenn die Frau auch wirklich argerlich war, so hatte sie doch keine Statte, wo sie davon hatte reden konnen, wie sie unterdruckt wurde Nur im Verborgenen konnte sie ihre Tranen fliessen lassen Unter der dortigen Nachharschaft, welche ihn gegen seine Mutter dies Benehmen auf-fuhren sah, war nicht einer, der nicht daruher geschumpft hatte Sie sprachen allesamt "Dies Fruehtchen wird in der Zukunft wer weiss was fur eine Vergeltung erfahren Wenn einer so uber seine Mutter herfallt, stirbt er morgen gewiss keines natuerlichen Todes "

Aber von den heimlichen Verwünschungen der anderen aus der Nachharschaft wollen wir nicht weiter reden, sondern davon sprechen, dass es in Schansi den Wutaischan 五台山 gibt. Zu diesem Berge wollen jedes Jahr, wenn es in den vierten (chinesischen) Monat gekommen ist, Leute aus allen fernen Gegenden wallfahrten. Man nennt es im Volksmunde "Zum Wutai wallfahrten". Indessen sind die Leute, welche zum Wutai wallfahrten, mit geringer Ausnahme Mongolen, sie stellen die überwiegende Zahl. Ich habe die Leute sagen hören, dass keiner von denen, die zum Wutai wallfahrten, bis oben hinauf gewallfahrtet ist. Weil der Berg zu hoch ist, kommen sie nur bis zum ersten oder zweiten Absatze, weiter steigen sie nicht hinauf. Wieso kommt das? Nach dem, was die Leute sagen, bekommt man nichts aussergewöhnlich Merkwürdiges zu sehen, es ist bloss ausserordentlich kalt. Man kommt darum unter keinen Umständen hinauf.

Was nun das angeht, welcher Genius oben auf dem Berge ist, so ist es nach dem, was die Leute sagen, von Haus aus die Frau Yang Dji ya's 楊繼業, eines Generals aus der Zeit der Sungdynastie, mit Namen Sche Taidjun 奢太君. Weil ihr Mann auf einem Kriegszuge war und er auf dem Felde der Ebre blieb, dachte diese Sche Taidjun, sie wollte für ihren Mann [das ist eben der Yang Dji ya] Rache nehmen. Darauf ging sie mit allen Leuten ihres Hauses an jenen Ort und setzte sich dort nieder, um nicht wieder aufzustehen. Es gibt ferner Leute, die sagen, diese Frau Sche Taidjun sei nicht gestorben, der Volksmund sagt, sie lebe ewig und altere nicht. Darum wallfahrteten die späteren Menschen zu ihr. Alle aber sagen sie, wenn man ihrer angesichts wird, dann kann man ein Genius werden. Von dieser Rede weiss man nicht, ob sie wahr sei oder falsch.

Indessen, was ist mit jener Frau, die im Osten Pekings wohnte, los, von der wir gesprochen haben? Jetzt wollen wir auf sie zurückkommen, wir müssen ihre Geschichte weiter erzählen.

Eines Jahres, gerade war wieder der vierte Monat, sprach dieser ihr Sohn zu sich selbst: "Jederman spricht davon, zum Wutai zu wallfahrten. Da ich jetzt auch nichts weiter zu tun habe, gehe ich morgen auch auf die Wallfahrt zum Wutai. Ich will einmal sehen, was es mit der Sche Taidjun aus der Sungdynastie für eine Bewandtnis hat." Als er dies bei sich beratschlagt hatte, brach er dann am nächsten Tage auf. Alle Leute, welche zu Ehren Buddhas Weihrauch verhrennen, die

\* Taidjun ist ein Titel.



müssen alle mit ihrem ganzen Herzen bei der Sache sein, dann geht es an Leute seines Schlags aber tun es letzten Endes nicht, um Weihrauch zu verhrennen oder Kotou zu machen, sondern sie nehmen nur die Gelegenheit zum Vorwande, einmal in der Berglandschaft herumzuwandern. Weil es die Zeit ist, wo der Frühling geht und der Sommer kommt, weiter die Tage länger werden, kann man sich so recht was ansehen und die üble Laune austreiben.

Als er an den Fuss des Berges gekommen war und von Absatz zu Absatz hochstieg, er auf seiner Wanderung bin und her bis auf einen noch restlichen Absatz emporgekommen war, da kam wider alles Erwarten von oben jemand herunter und sprach zu ihm "Du, der Du gegen Deine Eltern keine Ehrfurcht hegst und vor den Älteren und Oberen keinen Respekt hast, Du willst auch an jenen Ort hinaufgehen Buddha zu ehren? Steig Du umgehend hinah!" Als er den Kopf hob und sich einmal umsah, da war es niemand anders als — es konnte gar kein Zweifel sein — seine Mutter. Gerade wollte er noch fragen und sprechen "Mutter, wie sind Sie denn hierher gekommen?", aber noch ehe er den Satz hätte aussprechen können, da war, als er wieder hinsah, niemand mehr da. Zu der Zeit wurde ihm auf einmal ganz dumm im Kopfe, und als er mit gesenktem Kopfe wieder hinsah, da war er selber auch schon an den Fuss des Berges gekommen. Eine Zeitlang blieb er stehen und hatte die Absicht, wieder hinaufzugehen auf die Höhe. Aber er vermochte es nicht hinaufzusteigen. So blieb ihm nichts weiter übrig, als nur nach Hause zurückzukehren. Als er beimgekehrt war, und wie er sich umsah, da sass seine Mutter in der Stube. Da fuhr er sich in seinem Herzen höchst beklommen, und er sprach "Eben als ich auf dem Berge war, sah ich ganz deutlich, dass jene Frau meine Mutter war." Noch vieles andere sprach er ausserdem. Wie konnte sie jetzt dabei sitzen? Das war wirklich eine seltsame Geschichte! Wie er darauf einmal nachdachte, da sprach er "Ah! mir geht ein Licht auf! Es ist der göttliche Buddha, welcher mich gewarnt hat und mich beisst mich zu bessern." Darauf ging er eilends vor seine Mutter hin, kniete dann nieder und sprach "Mama! Was ich früher tat und vollführte, das war alles nicht recht. Ich bitte Sie, mir doch alles verzeihen zu wollen. Ich habe mich jetzt gehessert. Von jetzt an bin ich Ihnen hinfort in Ehrfurcht gehorsam und höre in jeder Angelegenheit auf Ihren Befehl. Ich werde es nicht mehr fertig bringen, Sie zu ärgern." Wie seine Mutter das gehört hatte, sprach sie in ihrem Herzen "Wie kann mein Sohn solche Worte über seine Lippen bringen?" Weiter dachte sie "Jetzt wird in meinem

Hause unbedingt die Tugend herrschen Eine Warnung des gottlichen Buddha hat ihn sich von dem Bosen weg dem Rechten zuwenden lassen" Darauf sprach sie "Nun gut! Da Dir also jetzt ein Licht aufgegangen ist, wirst Du späterhin trefflich handeln und wandeln Ich such Dir in der Zukunft dann eine Frau, und hast Du einen Sohn und eine Tochter bekommen, so wirst Du damit das Weihrauchopfer späterer Generationen fortführen" Als ihm die Frau einen halben Tag lang ihre Belchrungen hatte zuteil werden lassen, sprach sie "Geh!" Darauf machte er gegen seine Mutter Kotou, stand auf und ging dann Späterhin verheiratete sie ihn wirklich, ein Sohn und eine Tochter wurden geboren Er fuhrte jeden Tag seine Arbeiten aus und war aufs höchste fleissig und sparsam, sodass es im Hause mit jedem Tage besser wurde Sie kauften sich etwas Feld und auf dem Lande bezeichnete man ihn als einen ganz wohlhabenden Mann Damit ist die Geschichte aus

## 6 Die Begegnung mit den Genien

Spricht man von Peking so kann es als Nummer eins auf der Welt bezeichnet werden Ist es doch eine Stätte, wo hunderterlei Dinge wie die Wolken zusammenkommen Ganz abgesehen davon, dass alle Speisen Getränke was man anzieht und aufsetzt, gewählt sein werden, so ist hier, wenn man Lust hat herumzuschweifen, an jedem Tage, in jedem Monate etwas los, wo man hingehen kann Schweift man gerne herum, dann ist es vom ersten Monate (des chinesischen Jahres) an bis zum zwölften in einem fort, das ganze Jahr hindurch, wirklich unmöglich, ein Ende zu finden Darum freuen sich alle auf der Welt dieses Platzes

Wenn man dann den ersten Monat herausgreift und davon spricht, dann sind der Orte, wo man in diesem einen Monate hinspazieren kann, doch viele Von den anderen Orten, wo man hingehen kann, brauchen wir zunächst nicht zu reden, nur davon wollen wir sprechen, dass ausserhalb des Hsibien Stadttores 西便門 von Peking das Boyunguan 白雲觀 liegt Dieser Tempel ist jedes Jahr vom ersten Tage des ersten Monates bis zum achtzehnten Tage im ganzen achtzehn Tage lang, geöffnet Aus diesem Grunde werden wohl alle Leute von ausserhalb der Stadt dorthin spazieren gehen Weil Neujahr gewesen ist, haben alle Leute Zeit und gehen aus diesem Anlasse aus, sich Bewegung zu verschaffen, sich die Langeweile zu vertreiben und was dergleichen mehr ist Leute mit Geld werden am achtzehnten Tage, nusser dass sie

am hellen Tage den ganzen Tag über im Tempel herumschlendern, auch nachts im Tempel hleihen, weil an jenem Tage die himmlischen Genien auf die Welt herniederkommen. Man nennt es im Alltage „Mit den Genien zusammenkommen“. Deshalb werden also die besitzenden Leute alle in den Tempel gehen, um mit den Genien zusammenzukommen. Was aber die Frage betrifft, ob man wirklich mit ihnen zusammenkommen kann oder nicht, so wage ich darüber nichts Bestimmtes auszusagen — nur, es ist dies ein alter Brauch. Gibt es da nun solche, die mit ihnen zusammengekommen sind? Vielleicht wird es sie gehen. Hah ich doch sagen hören, dass ehemals innerhalb des Anding Stadtttores 安定門 von Peking ein Barbierladen war, darin ein Gehilfe namens Dsching 長 war. Als er eines Tages mit seiner Arbeit fertig war und gegen den Abend nichts weiter zu tun hatte, war er einen halben Tag lang vor der Tür gesessen, und als er gesehen hatte, dass es spät am Tage geworden war, raumte er auf und legte sich dann schlafen. Als er in der Nacht schlief, musste er ein kleines Geschäft verrichten. Er schlug darum dann die Ladentür auf und ging hinaus, sein Wasser abzuschlagen. Gerade hatte er die Ladentüre geöffnet und war hinausgetreten, da hörte er mitten im Luftraume jemanden reden, der sprach: „Verehrter Bruder im Dao! Morgen, am achtzehnten, steigen wir in die Welt hinauf. Was heützen wir dann für ein Kennzeichen?“ Ferner hörte er jemanden sagen: „Wir nehmen einen Zypressenzweig als Kennzeichen.“ Als dieser gewisse Dschang das gehört hatte, bewahrte er es in seinem Herzen, ging hinein ins Zimmer und sprach gegen niemanden davon. Darnach schlief er wieder.

Am nächsten Tage wechselte er den alten Anzug, zog einen neuen an, steckte Geld zu sich und ging zum Laden hinaus. Gemächlich schlenderte er hin, und ohne es selbst inne zu werden kam er ins Boyunguan. Er sah die Menschen sich im Tempel wie einen Berg türmen und wie das Meer wogen, ein Betrieb war, wie man sich ihn aiger gar nicht vorstellen kann. Darauf schlenderte er den ganzen Tag lang herum, dann aber suchte er im Tempel, ob da Daoisten mit einem Zypressenzweig waren. Er suchte die Kreuz und die Quer, und als er auf seiner Suche hinter den Tempel gekommen war, und den Kopf aufhob, da gewährte er einen alten Daoisten, der auf der Treppe sass, welche zum Tempel hinaufführte. Er las Lause, sein ganzer Körper war ein einziger Dreck. Doch sah er auf seiner Mutze ein Stückchen Zypressenzweig stecken. Geschwind kniete er da nieder machte dann Kotou und sprach: „Ich

bringe Ihnen als meinem Lehrer meine Verehrung dar Nehmen Sie mich als Schuler an!" Da hob jener alte Daoist den Kopf, und wie er guckte, kniete auf der Erde jemand Darauf sprach er "Was willst Du?" Da sagte der gewisse Dschang "Ich mochte Ihnen als meinem Lehrer meine Verehrung darbringen dürfen Machen Sie mich zu einem Ihrer Schuler!" Da sagte der alte Daoist "Im Tempel sind viele alte Daoisten, weshalb bringst Du nicht einem anderen Deine Verehrung dar? Sieh, ich bin allzu dreckig Dass Du ausgerechnet mir Deine Verehrung darbringst, was hat das für einen Sinn?" Da sprach der gewisse Dschang "Ich bin es willens" Als er ihm einen halben Tag lang zugesetzt hatte, da blieb jenem alten Daoisten keine andere Möglichkeit mehr, als dass er sprach "Bist Du es also willens, so geh mit mir weg!" Sie gingen die Kreuz und die Quer und gingen an eine menschenleere Stätte Da sagte der gewisse Dschang "Verehrter Meister! Ich habe Hunger" Der alte Daoist sprach darauf "Du bist hungrig, aber an dieser Stätte gibt es keinen Laden noch auch Leute in Privatwohnungen Wohin sollten wir etwas zu essen kaufen gehen?" Da sagte der gewisse Dschang "Ich bin wirklich hungrig Gerade heraus gesagt, ich kann nicht weiter gehen" Da sprach der alte Daoist "Was soll ich da machen? Ich habe keine Möglichkeit weiter, als dass ich so verfare Ich mache einen Haufen, und das isst Du! Das wird am besten sein" Der gewisse Dschang sagte darauf "Hm!" Als der alte Daoist sich niedergehockt und einen Haufen gemacht hatte, sprach er bei sich "Wie soll ich diesen Dreck essen? Es ist aber nichts zu machen Esse ich nicht, grimmt mir der Hunger im Bauche, esse ich — es ist wirklich dreckig" Dann rührte er mit seinem Finger hin und her in dem Dreck herum Als er aufgehört hatte, darin herumzurühren, und darauf wieder einmal guckte, war der alte Daoist nicht mehr da

Nicht lange darauf kam, von oben herabgeworfen, ein beschriebenes Blatt hermeder Darauf stand folgendes geschrieben "Du kannst kein Genius werden, Du hast die Wurzel der Genien nicht Ich geh!" Als er es aufgehoben und gelesen hatte, da war nichts weiter zu machen, als dass er jetzt langsam in seinen Laden zurückkehrte

Ich habe sagen hören dass jener Finger, mit dem er in dem Dreck herumgerührt hatte, sich späterhin in Gold verwandelte Was der Mann weiterhin für ein Geschick hatte, weiss ich nicht, und damit ist die Geschichte aus

## 7 Die Begegnung mit den Genien, Nr 2

Jedermann sagt "Im Boyunguan begegnet man den Genien" Diese alte Redeweise hat sich seit zweihundert und mehr Jahren bis auf den heutigen Tag uherhefert Zwar, was die Frage angeht, ob man ihnen begegnen kann oder nicht, so wage ich darüber nichts Bestimmtes auszusagen Nur weiss in Peking jedermann, dass es solch einen alten Brauch gibt, nach welchem dieser Tempel jedes Jahr vom ersten Tage des ersten (chinesischen) Monates an bis zum achtzehnten Tage, volle achtzehn Tage lang, geöffnet ist

Am neunzehnten Tage Vormittag ist er noch einen halben Tag lang geöffnet, und jener halbe Tag heisst im Volksmunde "Yendjur 燕九兒" Auf den Yendjur Tag wollen wir zuvorderst nicht eingehen, sondern nur davon sprechen, dass von da an, wo der Tempel geöffnet wird, innerhalb der achtzehn Tage im Tempel das bewegteste Leben herrscht Drinnen und draussen sind der Handler sehr viele Weil die Leute bei der Kirmes dieser zehn und ethlichen Tage, welche zuvorderst Weihrauch verhrennen, dann im Tempel herumspazieren, unhedingt tüchtig Geld ausgehen, wird dieserhalb jederart Handler dorthin einen fliegenden Verkaufsstand aufschlagen gehen Solche Handler fliegender Verkaufsstände haben auch nichts Besonderes weiter Es sind nämlich in der Hauptsache Teehuden hergerichtet Ist man dessen mude geworden, im Tempel herumzuspazieren, geht man hinein, sich etwas auszuruhen und ein husschen Tee zu trinken Doch wird der dann ein bisschen teurer verkauft Weil nämlich der Tempel in jedem Jahre nur die zehn und ethlichen Tage geöffnet ist, müssen alle unvermeidlich ein paar Groschen mehr verdienen Sind doch vor allem die taglichen Auslagen gross Verkauften sie billig deckte das den taglichen Bedarf nicht Also können des weiteren allerart Ess und Spielzeugstände, oder welcher Art die Stände seien, alle nicht wohlfeil verkaufen, in einem fort bis zu den grossen Stangen gezuckerter Früchte nehmen sie alle vier, fünf, ja zehn Kupfer für eine Rute

Doch das heisst nur von den Umständen der Kirmes reden Oh es ausserdem noch Genien gibt oder nicht, darüber wage ich nichts zu sagen Besser ist es zu glauben, dass es ihrer geben wird, denn man kann nicht glauben, dass es keme gibt Wieso? Weil es der Jahre so viele sind, wird es wahrscheinlich auch die Sache gehen müssen

Nach dem nun, was hetagte Leute von dort erzählen, war unter den fliegenden Hndlern, welche dorthin kamen, einer, der Mientscha 麵茶 verkaufte Als es zum achtzehnten Tage gekommen war, da haute er

mit Morgengrauen seinen Verkaufsstand auf, doch als die Sonne die Mittagshöhe schon überschritten hatte, hatte er auch noch nicht für fünf Pfennige verkauft. Gerade em hissel hatte er von einem Topfe Mientscha verkauft. Es war, mit einem Worte gesagt, niemand da, der trank. (Da) sprach er bei sich: "Was ist denn das heute bloss? Jeden Tag war bis Mittag ausverkauft, heute geht aber wirklich alles die Quere!" Gerade als er dies bei sich dort sprach, hob er plötzlich den Kopf und sah, dass ein alter Daoist gekommen war, der vor seinem Stande weilte und sprach: "Gies mir eine Tasse voll Mientscha!" Da sah dieser Mientscha-Verkäufer, dass sein Aussehen einem den Magen hob. Er sah, dass das Gewand, welches er anhatte, nicht nur zerschissen, sondern uherdem noch höchst dreckig war. Das ganze Gesicht war ein schwarzer Dreck, uherdem hingen ihm lange Lichter von der Nase herunter. Da dachte der Mientscha-Verkäufer bei sich: "Soll ich ihn nicht auffordern zu trinken — der andere ist doch mein Kunde, fordere ich ihn auf zu trinken — nun ich sehe, dass er ganz dreckig ist." Es hlieb ihm nichts weiter ubrig, als eine Tasse zu nehmen und ihm eine Tasse vollzugiessen. Darauf handigte er sie diesem alten Daoisten ein und sprach: "Geh aher von diesem meinem Mientscha Topfe weg und trink ein bisschen entfernt!" Der alte Daoist nahm die Tasse in Empfang, fasste sie mit beiden Händen und trank dann. Als er die Hälfte getrunken hatte, da sprach er zum Mientscha-Verkäufer: "Dies Dein Mientscha ist zu dünn eingekocht, ich trinke es nicht." Uherdem er das sagte, goss er ihm die halbe Tasse Mientscha, welche vom Trinken ubrig geblieben war, in den Topf hinein. Wie der Mientscha-Verkäufer das sah, da lief ihm aher die Galle uber, und er sprach: "Du, was ist denn das für eine Geschichte? Mein Mientscha nicht gut? Wenn Du es nicht magst, kannst Du das Trinken nicht hlieben lassen? Weshalb giesst Du es mir in den Topf hinein? Dies mein Mientscha huer, wem kann ich das jetzt noch verkaufen? Es ist ganz verdreckt!" Als er so aufbeehrte, da hatten sich ganz von selbst viele Leute herumgestellt, sich den Auflauf anzugucken. Zu eben der Zeit waren dann auch Leute da, die ihnen gut zuredeten und sprachen: "Alter Daoist! Du hast jetzt nicht recht getan. Der andere ist ein kleiner Händler, welcher huerher gekommen ist, seinen fliegenden Verkaufsstand aufzuschlagen, und so darf man schon unterstellen, dass es für ihn nicht leicht ist. Deshalb schlagen sie ja auch alle ein bisschen auf. Giesst Du dem anderen was in seinen Topf, wie soll es da vom anderen noch verkauft werden? Nun gut!"

Geh Du fort!" Darauf sprachen sie weiter zu dem Mientscha-Verkaufser "Nimm Du einen Löffel und heb jenes bisschen Mientscha, das eben hineingegossen wurde, vorsichtig heraus und gress es weg! Damit ist es dann gut. Sonst kannst Du nämlich den Topf Mientscha nicht mehr verkaufen." Wie der Mientscha-Verkäufer das gehört hatte, da blieb ihm weiter nichts übrig als so zu verfahren. Darauf bat er alle es zu entschuldigen, dass er sie bemuhte, dann hob er das bisschen schmutziges Mientscha heraus und goss es weg.

Wider alles Erwarten aber florirte, seit jener alte Drost fortgegangen war, sein Handel, wie man es sich besser gar nicht denken konnte. Der Leute, welche trinken wollten, waren zu viele, den ganzen geschlagenen Tag verkaufte er in einem fort, und dieser Topf Mientscha wurde auch nicht weniger. Andauernd waren Leute da, die tranken, und andauernd war da Mientscha in seinem Topfe. Als es Abend geworden war, er seinen Verkaufsstand schloss und den Erlös aus dem Verkaufe überzahlte, da war es ungleich viel mehr, als an jedem anderen Tage. Da sprach er bei sich: "Wieso habe ich aus dem Verkaufe dieses Topfes Mientscha soviel Geld erlösen können?" Und wie er einmal nachdachte, sprach er: "Ah! Heute ist der zehnte Tag. Alle sagen, dass heute die Götter auf die Welt herniedersteigen. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war dieser alte Drost doch wohl ein Genius. Im Volksmunde heisst es: 'Den Göttern begegnen'. Heute bin ich einem begegnet." Da war er in seinem Herzen aufs höchste erfreut. Am nächsten Tage verkaufte er noch einen halben Tag lang, dann ging er in die Stadt hinein, und die Geschichte ist aus.

### 8 Das Menschenkind 人參娃子

Das Sprichwort sagt: "Die Menschen werden geboren und sterben, die Dinge werden unbrüchbar." Denkt man sorgfältig darüber nach, so wäre es ohne jeden Sinn, wenn die Menschen ewig nicht starben. Vor allem wird man, je weiter es geht, desto älter, und Geist und Kraft reichen nicht mehr aus, in der Welt zu bestehen. Und damit ist man doch dann ein überflüssig Ding geworden. Wenn aber die Dinge nicht vergingen, so gäbe es doch keine Arbeit, und vom Handel ist gleicherweise dasselbe zu sagen. Deshalb sagt das Sprichwort: "Die zweite Welle folgt der ersten Welle." Die alten Menschen werden von neuen abgelöst, und was die Dinge betrifft, gingen die alten nicht weg, woher sollten die neuen kommen? Deshalb heisst es

“Die Menschen werden geboren und sterben, die Dinge werden unbrauchbar.”

Gleichwohl aber wünschen alle Menschen ewig zu leben und nicht zu altern. Das ist nun zwar nichts weiter als ein leeres Gerede, nichts mehr, aber man sagt weiter doch noch: “Wenn ein Mensch das Kraut der Unsterblichkeit erlangt und es gegessen hat, so kann er für alle Zeiten nicht mehr sterben.” Das ist aber auch nichts weiter als ein Gerede. Denn wo soll man es suchen? Gerade heraus gesagt, etwas derartiges gibt es nicht.

Wenn es aber das auch nicht gibt, so gibt es doch etwas, das auch sehr wertvoll ist. Fragt ihr, was das sei, dann ist es der Jensehkonig, oder, wie es in der Sprache des Alltags heisst, das Jensehkind. Wenn ein Mensch das gegessen hat, so kann er für alle Zeiten nicht mehr sterben. Es ist nun aber gleichermassen nicht leicht zu bekommen. Hat es einer aber wirklich bekommen, so darf man, es mit einem Worte zu sagen, schon glauben, dass man damit die Wurzel der Genien hat. Ein solcher wird dann späterhin ein göttliches Wesen. Aber weshalb reden wir denn heute wieder davon? Weil es eine alte Geschichte darüber gibt. Aber wo hat sich diese alte Geschichte zugetragen?

Ich habe gehört, sie habe sich in Schantung zugetragen. Zwar weiss ich nicht, in was für einem Kreise und was für einem Bezirke, doch heisst es, dass da ein Tempel war. Der Abt im Tempel war ein alter buddhistischer Monch, er hatte zwei Schüler bei sich. Abgesehen davon, dass die drei, Lehrer und Schüler, jeden Tag in die Tempelhalle gingen, Weihrauch zu verbrennen und heilige Texte zu rezitieren, ging unterweilen der alte Monch in den Tempel seiner Schüler, ein bisschen zu plaudern. Als Tempel auf dem Lande musste er auch keine buddhistischen Sterbebrauche vollziehen, die darüber hinausgegangen waren, Weihrauch zu verbrennen und heilige Texte zu rezitieren, ausserdem hatte er die Angelegenheiten seines Tempels zu verwalten.

Eines Tages sass er nach dem Vesper gegen Abend in der Meditationshalle mit untergeschlagenen Beinen da. Plötzlich, wie er die Augen öffnete und hin guckte, sah er einen kleinen, weissen, dicken Knaben von draussen hereinkommen. Da sprach der alte Monch bei sich: “Aus welcher Familie stammt denn das Kind? Was hat es zu dieser Zeit noch raus zu gehen?” Darauf sah er, wie das Kind einen halben Tag lang im Spiel herumhupfte und herumsprang. Er hatte sich vorgesetzt und wollte es einmal fragen, aus welcher Familie es sei,



aber als er nocheinmal hinsab, da hatte das Kind sich umgewandt und fort war es.

Da sprach der alte Monch bei sich: "Das ist aber seltsam!" Als er aufhorchte, da schlug es draussen Mitternacht.<sup>5</sup> Da horte der Monch auf, mit untergeschlagenen Beinen dazusitzen, und da es dann nicht mehr fruh am Tage war, brachte er alles in Ordnung und legte sich darauf schlafen.

Am nächsten Tage erwähnte er von dieser Sache nichts. Wider Erwarten kam am Abend, es war dieselbe Zeit wie am Vortage, auch das Kind wieder. Als es ins Zimmer gekommen war, trieb es eine Weile sein Spiel, in Nichts war ein Unterschied, darauf ging es fort. Um die Sache kurz zu machen: von diesem Tage an kam es jeden Tag gegen Abend, war seine Zeit gekommen, dann ging es fort.

Eines Tages sprach der alte Monch bei sich: "Wenn es heute Abend wiederkommen wird, dann will ich genau acht geben, was es eigentlich für ein Ding ist. Es ist eine ausgemachte Sache, dass es kein Mensch sein kann." Das dachte der alte Mönch in seinem Herzen.

Gegen Abend kam das Kind wieder, und wie der alte Monch genau hinsab, da ging ihm ein Licht auf und er sprach: "Ah! Ganz sicher ist das ein Menschenkind." Zu dieser Zeit aber liess er es auf sich beruben.

Am nächsten Tage bereitete der alte Monch eine Nadel vor mit sehr viel rotem Zwirn. Sagte er doch bei sich: "Wenn es wieder kommt, dann stecke ich ihm diese Nadel in seinen Körper und schaue zu, wo es sich eigentlich aufhält." Doch wir wollen uns kurz fassen! Gegen Abend kam das Kind wieder, und ohne ein Wortlein zu sagen, stach ihm der alte Monch die Nadel in den Leib. Als das Kind einen halben Tag lang gespielt hatte und seine Zeit gekommen war, da ging es fort.

Am nächsten Tage suchte dann dieser alte Monch langs dieses Zwirnsfadens. Er suchte die Kreuz und die Quer und kam so hinter einen Berg, wo er es fand. Geschwind grub er hier, und als er es ausgegraben hatte, war der alte Monch aufs höchste erfreut. Er kehrte mit ihm ins Kloster zurück. Mit einem Messer schnitt er es in lauter Scheiben, dann nahm er eine Pfanne und rostete es.

Zu dieser Zeit kamen von draussen die kleinen Monche herein und sprachen: "Verehrter Vater Lehrer! Unser Onkel Lehrer in jenem Tempel hat jemanden gesandt und lässt Sie bitten, Sie mochten

<sup>5</sup> Eigentlich die nächtliche Stunde von 11 1

schnell hingehen. Er lasst Ihnen sagen, er habe etwas ganz Wichtiges." Wie der alte Monch das horte, da sprach er "Sagt ihm, nach einer kleinen Weile kame ich." Darauf sagten die jungen Monche "Er fordert Sie auf, sogleich zu gehen." Wie der alte Monch das horte, da hlieb ihm keine andere Moglichkeit mehr. Ging er nicht, so wusste er nicht, was es Wichtiges gah, ging er nher, so befurchtete er, dass die Schuler sich an seiner Pfanne vergreifen. Er scharfte darauf den jungen Monchen ein und sprach "Ruckt mir ja nicht die Pfanne vom Feuer weg, nachdem ich weggegangen bin!" Da fragten ihn die jungen Monche "Was ist denn in der Pfanne drin?" Darauf sagte der alte Monch "Das geht Euch gar nichts an! Ruht es unter keinen Umstanden an, dann ist alles in Ordnung!" Nach diesen Worten ging er fort.

Nachdem der alte Monch fortgegangen war, da sprachen aber die zwei jungen Monche "Unser Vater Lehrer hat uns nicht erlaubt, die Pfanne anzuruhren, wir wissen aber nicht, was darinnen ist." Da sagte der zweite Schuler "Was geht uns das an? Er hat uns verhoten es anzuruhren, also durfen wir es nicht anrühren." Darauf sagte der altere Schuler "Ich muss einmal nachgucken." Sprach der zweite Schuler "Wenn es unser Lehrer in Erfahrung bringt, da wird er uns beide hinterher wohl verdreschen." Darauf sagte der erste Schuler

Das ist alles nicht so schlimm. Wenn ich hineingeguckt habe, decke ich den Deckel schnell wieder so drauf, wie er vorher drauf war." Ueberdem sie noch sprachen, ging er hin und deckte die Pfanne auf. Als er sie aufgedeckt hatte, und wie er einmal hineinguckte, da war es eine Pfanne voll Fleisch, und als er schnupperte, da duftete es ganz herrlich. Da sprachen die beiden "Ganz sicher ist das, was unser Lehrer hier schmort, Fleisch. Da brauchen wir uns nicht zu wundern, dass er uns verhoten hat, daran zu ruhren. Er durfte nicht sagen, dass er hinter unserem Rucken sich der Fleischnahrung zugewandt hat. Treibt der's so, dann konnen wir auch aufhoren, vegetarisch zu leben. Jetzt wollen wir zwei auch einmal Fleisch essen!" Zuvorderst ass er ein bisschen, um einmal zu kosten. Da sagte der zweite Schuler "So wollen wir es denn tun!" Nach diesen Worten pickte er sich aus der Pfanne ein Stuck heraus, und darauf assen alle zwei. Je mehr sie assen, desto mehr wollten sie essen. Es mit einem Worte zu sagen, die zwei assen das ganze Jenschekind auf, das in der Pfanne war. Als sie es aufgegessen hatten, da sagte der zweite Schuler "Oh Graus! Nur die Bruhe ist uhrig geblieben in der Pfanne. Was sollen wir tun?"

Sowie unser Vater Lehrer hernach sieht, dass das Fleisch nicht mehr da ist, wird er sich damit nicht so zufrieden gehen, sondern wir zwei kriegen sicher die Hücke voll" Da sagte der ältere Schuler "Wir schutten die Bruhe aus, dann gehts Wenn unser Vater Lehrer zurückkommt und keine Bruhe sehen kann, dann glaubt er, es sei alle geworden" Darauf trugen sie die Bruhe in der Pfanne auf den Hof und gossen sie aus Wider alles Erwarten gah es, bautz' einen Knall, und das Kloster stieg in den Luftraum hoch

Davon wollen wir aber nicht reden

Wie der alte Mönch zurückgekommen war und er hinsah, war die ganze Stätte des Tempels ein einziges grosses Loch Wie er den Kopf aufhob und guckte, da war der Tempel mitten in der Luft Da sprach der alte Monch "Je nun! Mit der Wurzel des Genius ist es wieder nichts, ich sollte halt keiner werden"

Damit ist die Geschichte aus

### 9 Jemand stirbt und wird wieder lebendig

Wenn der Mensch gestorben ist, kann er nicht wieder lebendig werden Man sagt auch "Ist der Mensch einmal tot, so wandelt sich sein Odem in reinen Wind, das Fleisch aber wandelt sich in Schlamm" Diese zwei Satze sprichwortlicher Rede treffen den Nagel mitten auf den Kopf Man denke nur einmal nach! Ist der Mensch namlich gestorben, woher sollte er denn noch eine Möglichkeit haben, wieder lebendig zu werden?

Aher, wiewohl es das nicht gibt, ist doch aus alter Zeit eine Geschichte da, die ich erzählen will, sie ist gar neu und erstaunlich

Ich habe also die Leute überhören hören, dass ehemals in der Oststadt von Peking in der Meidschar Strasse 煤渣兒胡同 ein buddhistisches Kloster chinesischer Observanz 一座和尚廟 war In dem Kloster hauste aber nur ein Lehrer selbster mit seinem Schuler Der Lebensjahre dieses Klosterverwalters waren aber nicht übermassig viele, er war gerade in seinen mittleren Jahren Dem Brauche nach es zu sagen, sollte nun aber jemand der das Hausleben aufgegeben hat, um Monch zu werden, natürlich fleischlose Nahrung essen, zu Buddha beten und heilige Bücher rezitieren, damit es recht mit ihm stehe

Jedermann wusste aber, dass dieser Monch anders war, als die anderen Nicht nur, dass er die buddhistischen Brauche nicht beobachtete, rauchte er sogar täglich Opium und war ausserdem noch Stamm-

gast in allen Freudenhäusern Im Vollgefuhle, ein paar Pfennige zu besitzen gab er sein Geld nach Gefallen aus, er war, es mit einem Worte zu sagen, ein verkommener Schuler des Buddhismus

Einstweilen wollen wir aber nicht weiter von ihm reden, sondern nur davon sprechen, dass in jener Strasse ein gewisser Hêng 恆 wohnte Dieser Mann war nun Schutzmann im Yamen des Provinzbauptmannes von Peking und in dieser Eigenschaft lag es ihm ob, Räuber zu verhaften, Diebe festzunehmen und sich mit allen Fallen von Übertretungen zu befassen

Als er sah, dass der Monch alle Tage Gast im Freudenhaus war, sprach er bei sich "Man Zeit lassen! Wenn ich eine günstige Gelegenheit finde, muss ich ihn blamieren" Ein glücklicher Zufall fugte es, dass der gewisse Hêng eines Tages dem Monche hegegnete, als er gerade zum Tjanmen<sup>6</sup> hinausging Er spazierte mit einem Freudenmadchen auf der Strasse umher Da sprach der gewisse Hêng "Vortrefflich! Heut hab ich Dich aber erwisch't! Wobin willst Du denn eilends wieder laufen?" Überdem er das sagte, ging er auf ihn zu und ergriff den Mann wie auch das Weib Dann nahm er seinen Amtsstrick<sup>7</sup> heraus und fesselte sie darauf Ich mochte hier noch zufügen, dass der Monch den Mann aus der Familie Hêng die ganze Zeit über gekannt hatte So sprach er darauf "Was für eine Feindschaft haben wir zwei miteinander?" Da sagte der gewisse Hêng "Zwar haben wir heide miteinander keine Feindschaft, doch hast Du mit Deinem Tun allzusehr über den Strang gebauen Denk doch, Du bist ein Monch, der das Hausleben verlassen hat, und doch weisst Du nicht einen gesitteten Lebenswandel zu führen, begehst im Gegenteile sogar sundhafte Handlungen Halt Deinen Mund und komm gefälligst mit ins Yamen Dort bleibst Du ein paar Tage und damit basta!"

Nach diesen Worten ging er fort und zog dabei die beiden, Mann und Weib, mit sich fort Man muss schon sagen, dass das, was der gewisse Hêng tat, doch gar zu schrecklich war Einen Strick hatte er genommen, den Monch mit dem Freudenmadchen zusammengebunden und sie auf der Strasse hinter sich drein gezogen — alles nur, damit die Leute ihn sahen Beabsichtigte doch der gewisse Hêng weiter nichts, als sie zu blamieren Als er darauf mit ihnen zum Yamen gekommen

<sup>6</sup> Haupttor in der südlichen Stadtmauer von Peking In der Stadt südlich und südwestlich davor liegen auch allerhand Freudenhäuser

<sup>7</sup> Dieser Strick zum Fesseln von Übeltätern ist von weisser Farbe er wird noch heute von den Peking'schutzleuten verwendet um jemanden zu fesseln

war, war denn auch weiter nichts los, als dass er den Monch in Gemassheit damit, dass er seine Regel nicht rein befolgte und die Nächte mit Freudenmadchen durchbrachte, für seine Missetaten bestrafte und es mit einigen hundert Silberlingen ahndete. Dann liess er sie frei.

Als der Monch in sein Kloster zurückgekehrt war, ergrimmte er sich, je mehr er daran dachte, umsomehr. Er wurde von diesem Tage an krank. Er nahm die Krankheit leicht, aber wider alles Erwarten wurde sie von Tag zu Tag schwerer, und wiewohl er den Arzt rief ihn zu behandeln, so war doch die Krankheit höchst gefährlich und in Wahrheit nicht leicht zu heben. Um die Sache kurz zu machen, er starb rasch darnach.

Eines Tages sprach der Monch zu seinem Schuler: "Diese meine Krankheit, die kommt vom letzten Male her. Der Hêng nahm mich zum Yamen des Provinzhauptmannes und hat mir den Prozess gemacht. Mich hat ein einziger Groll gepackt, ich denke, ich werde nicht wieder gesund werden. Setz mir morgen, wenn ich gestorben bin, eine Anklageschrift auf und verhöre sie! Ich werde gegen den Hêng im Reiche der Schatten meinen Prozess führen, zu Lebzeiten kann ich ihm nichts mehr anhaben, wir zwei werden vor den Todesgott Yama rechten gehen."

Am Tage, nachdem er das gesprochen hatte, verstarb er dann. Darnach setzte sein Schuler eine Anklageschrift auf und verbrannte sie ihm.

Doch wollen wir nun nicht weiter davon reden, dass der Monch gestorben war, sondern uns wieder dem zuwenden, von dem gewissen Hêng zu reden. Als er an diesem Tage vom Yamen nach Hause zurückgekehrt war, da fühlte er sich ganz erarmlich. Er hatte Kopfschmerzen bis dahinaus, stöhnend und ächzend lag er auf dem Kang und walzte sich hin und her. Seine Frau samt Söhnen und Töchtern, die fragten ihn alle und sprachen: "Was ist mit Dir los?" Er sprach: "Ich fühle mich nicht wohl, meine Not ist schrecklich. Ruft geschwind einen Arzt, mich zu behandeln!" Darauf holten sie einen Arzt, dass er einmal nachsahe, und er sprach: "Die Krankheit ist allzu plötzlich gekommen. Ich schreibe ihm ein Rezept auf. Kauft Ihr die Arznei! Schwitzt er, nachdem er sie eingenommen hat, dann ist es gut. Wenn er aber nicht schwitzt, braucht Ihr mich noch nicht wieder zu rufen. Gerade heraus gesagt, dann sollt Ihr ihm die Sterhegewänder fertig machen. Ich sehe, dass diese seine Krankheit sehr gefährlich ist."

Wie die Leute in seiner Familie das horten und sie den Arzt noch einmal bitten wollten, auf eine Möglichkeit zu sinnen, da sagte aber der Arzt "Ich habe keine Möglichkeit mehr Seine Krankheit ist allzu schrecklich und in Wahrheit schwerlich zu heilen" Nach diesen Worten ging der Arzt dann fort Weiter ist zu sagen, dass es mit dem Kranken von Minute zu Minute schlimmer wurde Die Arznei war noch nicht gekauft, es kam auch, die Sache kurz zu machen, nicht dazu Wie seine Familienangehörigen sahen, wie es mit ihm stand, wollten sie ihn geschwind fertig machen, aber kaum, dass sie ihn aufs Totenhette gebettet hatten, verstarb er kurz darauf Wie die Leute seiner Familie sahen, dass er gestorben war — oh es da einen einzigen gab, der nicht geweint hatte? Sie weinten natürlich unter lautem Klagen Als sie aufgehört hatten zu weinen, heratschlagten seine Leute, geschwind einen Sarg zu kaufen, um das Leichenbegangnis auszurichten Sie waren eben dabei zu ratschlagen, da horten sie plötzlich den gewissen Hêng aufstöhnen Da seine Leute nicht wussten, was los war, meinten alle, er sei ein Dschaschi 乍屍 Darauf rannten alle hinaus Der gewisse Hêng aber, welcher auf dem Totenhette lag, sprach "Ihr braucht Euch nicht zu erschrecken! Kommt alle her!" Als seine Leute gehört hatten, dass er reden konnte, da kamen sie dann allesamt langsam in die Stube

Zu dieser Zeit fragte ihn da seine Frau "Was ist hier mit Dir los?" Da sagte der gewisse Hêng "Wartet ein Weilchen! Zuerst heht mich auf den Kang! Dann will ich es Euch langsam erzählen" Wie seine Leute das alle gehört hatten, da hohen sie ihn auf den Kang, und dann stellten sie langsam Fragen an ihn Darauf sagte der gewisse Hêng "Ehen habe ich gefühlt, wie es mir ganz dumm im Kopfe wurde Ich sah von draussen zwei Beamte hereinkommen, die sprachen zu mir 'Jetzt verklagt Dich der Monch aus dem Tempel in der Meidschar Strasse, wir sind gekommen, Dich vor Gericht zu zitieren'" Überdem sie das sagten, gingen sie mit mir fort Hinterher weiss ich auch nicht, an was für einen Platz ich gekommen bin, ich sah, dass es eine Art Yamen war Da sprachen die beiden Beamten zu mir 'Warte Du hier ein Weilchen! Wir gehen hinein, Meldung zu erstatten' Wie ich das gehört hatte, da suchte ich mir einen sauberen Fleck aus (, um dort niederzuhocken) Ich hatte noch nicht lange gewartet, da kam aus dem Yamen jemand heraus, und wie ich hinsah, da erkannte ich den Mann Es war einer meiner früheren Kollegen Ich sagte noch zu mir 'Der ist ja gestorben, wieso ist denn der

hier?' und war ganz henommen Da sah ich jenen Mann auf mich zuelen, und er sprach "Hêng' mein alterer Bruder! Wesbalh bist Du hierher gekommen?' Darauf sagte ich 'Ich habe gegen einen Monch einen Prozess und warte hier hineingerufen zu werden' Da sagte jener Mann 'Mach, dass Du fortkommst' Dem Prozess ist aus Da ich ihm das noch nicht glaubte, wollte ich ihn eben fragen, wieso er aus sei Doch da gah er mir mit seinem Fusse einen Tritt Ich war ganz erschrocken und vor Schmerz stohnte ich auf"

Wie seine Familienangehörigen ihn das hatten sagen hören, da ging ihnen ein Licht auf, und sie sprachen "Du warst bereits einen Tag tot, und wir heratschlagten und überlegten, wie wir das Leichenhegung ausrichten sollten Da Du jetzt indessen lebst, halten wir es für richtig, dass wir anderen in der ganzen Familie ein Freudenfest feiern Wir wollen noch rasch den Arzt rufen, Dich zu behandeln"

Wir wollen uns kurz fassen Nachdem er zwei Dosen Medizin eingenommen hatte, war er gesund geworden, und als der gewisse Hêng von seiner Krankheit wieder genesen war, ging er wieder wie vordem ins Yamen und seinem Amte nach

## 10 Der Ursprung des Dschaschi 詐屍

Man muss schon sagen, dass für Gehurt und Tod des Menschen von der Natur her eine Zahl festgesetzt ist, Menschenkraft kann das sicher nicht hewirken Man kann, wenn man auf die Welt gekommen ist, von sich aus den Leih lediglich erhalten, dass er noch einige Jahre mehr am Lehen hleihen kann Doch dem Tode entrinnen kann niemand Wenn man ewig nicht sturke, und auf der Welt ewig welche gehören wurden, hedeutete das nicht, dass der Menschen je länger je mehr wurden?

Indessen habe ich doch auch etwas von einem Dschaschi nach dem Tode eines Menschen reden hören Wenn man uher diese Vorstellung des Dschaschi reden soll, so ist nach der Erzählung alter Leute der Umstand, dass ein Mensch, welcher auf dem Totenbette aufgehahrt liegt, plötzlich aufsteht und mit heiden Fussen (hei steifem Körper und geschlossenen Beinen) umherhupft, darauf zuruckzufuhren, dass seine Todesstunde seiner Gehurtsstunde\* entspricht

\* Stunde = 時辰.

Wenn man nun jetzt diese Sache vernünftig überdenkt, wieso dann ein Mensch, da doch seine Lebensgeister 氣 abgeschnitten sind, noch auf der Erde herumhumpeln kann, so gibt es nun weiter Leute, die sagen: "Es ist deshalb, weil zwar seine eigentlichen Lebensgeister 正氣 abgeschnitten sind, aber seine restlichen Lebensgeister 餘氣 noch nicht ausgelöscht sind."

Was nun die Frage angeht, ob es so etwas gibt oder nicht, so hat es noch niemand gesehen. Nur weiss jedermann, dass es so etwas gibt. Doch ob das wahr sei oder falsch, das weiss man nicht. Was man in alten Erinnerungen gebort hat, wartet noch auf die genaue Untersuchung.



## A HORN PRINTING BLOCK

ROSWELL S BRITTON

Wood has been the standard material for printing blocks in China, but for special purposes other materials have been used. Clay blocks and wax composition blocks have been described<sup>1</sup>. The block shown here is a composite of fourteen cross section cuts of water buffalo horn. It was used during the Kuang hsu reign period, 1875-1908, to print deposit receipt blanks of a native bank at Peking. This no doubt explains the use of horn rather than the usual wood. Horn seems to take finer engraving than wood, and so would be preferable for the delicate decoration intended, like decoration on bonds and banknotes, to guard against forgery.

The block has been for some years in the possession of the American Numismatic Society, New York, but the date and other circumstances of accession are not recorded. Mr. Howland Wood, the Curator, kindly placed it in my hands for publication. Dr. Walter Granger, mammal paleontologist of the American Museum of Natural History, examined it at my request and identified the material as water buffalo horn.

The printing surface, Fig. 1, is 18.4 cm. by 8.4 cm. Ten of the fourteen segments are uniformly 3 cm. thick, and provide a firm base for the block notwithstanding that the four thinner segments leave cavities on the under side. Twelve segments are irregular quadrilaterals, two are quinquilaterals, and all fourteen differ in shape and size in consequence of trimming to make the most of the cross sections as cut from the tapering horn or horns.

The segments are fitted in five rows, two segments in the first row corresponding to the top of the printed form, and three segments in each of the other rows. The largest segments, in the second row, are 4.8 cm. long by 3.4 cm. at the wider ends, narrowing to 2.8 cm. and 2.4 cm. at the other ends. The smallest, in the

<sup>1</sup> BRITTON *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912* Shanghai 1933 p. 4 citations p. 139 Printing note

fourth row, are nearly rectangular, 1.6 x 2.1 cm, and 1.7 x 1.9 cm. Fig. 2 shows the first three rows of segments disjoined.

The fitting and joining are nicely executed in typical Chinese workmanship. The adjoining sides of the segments are trimmed flat, perpendicular or slightly askew, and are finished smooth. At one point only do two pairs of corners coincide. Elsewhere the pairs of corners abut solid sides, making for firm joining.

The segments are held together by 23 round bamboo pins, 1.6 cm long and 0.4 cm in diameter. Some are visible in Fig. 2. The holes for the pins are drilled somewhat nearer the printing surface than the base, and each hole is beveled at the mouth. Little cement was used. In spite of deterioration, the block still holds by the pins alone.

The engraving was done after the joining had been completed. A drill was used in excavating the areas corresponding to the blank space in the center of the printed form. The circular drill marks are visible in Figs. 1 and 2. The imprint reproduced in Fig. 3 was made after the block had been dismembered and loosely rejoined, and shows the joint seams as well as cracks and chipped corners resulting from cleavage between the annular rings. There is some warping of the engraved surface, less perhaps than would be expected of wood.

An old imprint, preserved with the block, shows the detail to better advantage than the print here, but is rather too dim for reproduction. Some of the finer line work, counting 20 to 40 lines per centimeter, does not register at all in the print in Fig. 3, and much of it is lost in solid smudges. The relief edges of the block show little wear from ink brushing, but the bright red ink stains are fairly deep, suggesting that the block was much used, and also indicating that the forms were printed red.

There are 152 characters on the block, all in conventional block print style except those of the bank's name 貳合銀號 *San Ho Yin Hao*. These four characters are in a standard lapidary or so called seal style, a conventionalized form after the *hsiao chuan* 小篆 script of the 3rd century B. C. The term *yin hao* is typical of the banks of the old order, now being superseded by *yin hang* 銀行 the modern banks. The location, Peking is indicated by *Ching tu*,

the Capital. The four characters in the ornamental panel below the hank's name are a warning to depositors to be careful of their receipts: 不掛失票, literally, "Will not note lost receipts," which is to say, the hank will not issue duplicates or pay deposits if the receipts are lost.

The hank form is in three columns in the rectangle framed by the protective decoration. The first column, on the right, is for the number of the instrument 字, and the last, on the left, is for the date with the reign title Kuang-hsü at the top. The center column is for the amount deposited, politely worded 寄存 "entrusted for safekeeping," 平銀, short for *k'u p'ing yin* 庫, "silver taels by the imperial treasury scales." The terminal character 整, "exact," serves analogously as the word "only" after an amount written on a check. The hank's seal would be stamped over the amount entry.

The text divided into twelve parts in the decorative border is from the Preface to the Orchid Pavilion, *Lan-t'ing hsü* 蘭亭序. This celebrated preface, by Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之, 321-379, is a favorite exercise for calligraphy, often seen in copies of the brush work of famous calligraphists.<sup>3</sup> Only the first 188 characters (less than half) of the preface are cut here, and in ordinary style. The incompleteness is somewhat surprising. One would rather expect the selection of a text brief enough to go complete within the space. [Cf. *Chin shu chiao chu* 晉書料注 80.8a-10a for the full text of this preface.]

The outer band of the decorative border is a three-petal design repeated in alternating positions and printed white against the ink. The panels within this framing band contain figure carvings in twelve cartouches interspersing the preface text. At the top in one cartouche are the three legendary figures symbolizing long life, official honor, and happiness 壽祿福. At the sides are the Taoist Eight Immortals in individual cartouches, four on each side. At the bottom are the crane, two monkeys beneath a peach tree, and the deer, in three small cartouches.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., DRISCOLL and TODA, *Chinese Calligraphy*, Chicago 1935, p. 29, two examples attributed to the T'ang Dynasty.

The figures are well carved. The backgrounds in most cases contain finer line work than the figures. The more and finer the detail, the harder would it be for a forger to imitate the block, and the easier for the bank clerks to detect forgeries if made. And so, bank protection appears to account for the irrelevant decoration as a vehicle for fine detail, which in turn appears to account for the use of horn.

Horn is often used in China for stamp seals. The size of horn allows sawing solid pieces large enough for seals and suitable in shape for convenient handling. The exceptional thing in this horn block is the fitting of many pieces of horn to form a relatively large flat slab.

Technically, the stamp seal and the printing block differ only in manner of handling, and this difference in handling is due only to difference in size. The block is larger than the seal, generally speaking, and for convenience while in use is fixed with its engraved face upwards. Paper is pressed upon the block, whereas the seal is pressed upon the paper. Both the stamp seal and the printing block are essentially reverse-engraved surfaces to receive ink for transfer to paper by impression.

There would seem to be virtually no doubt that block printing developed directly from seal stamping. The stencil and the ink squeeze employ fundamentally different techniques. The first printing blocks may or may not have been wood. Exceptional sorts of blocks and seals, even though recent, are of interest not only as specialties of the craft but as possible clues to the nature of early printing devices and the general circumstances of the origin of printing.

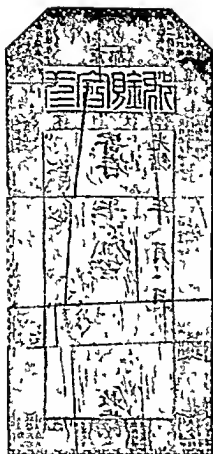


FIG. 1 Engraved face of printing block composed of fourteen pieces of water buffalo horn

This photograph is reduced about on half. The block is 18.4 cm x 8.4 cm

*Photographed by R. S. B.*

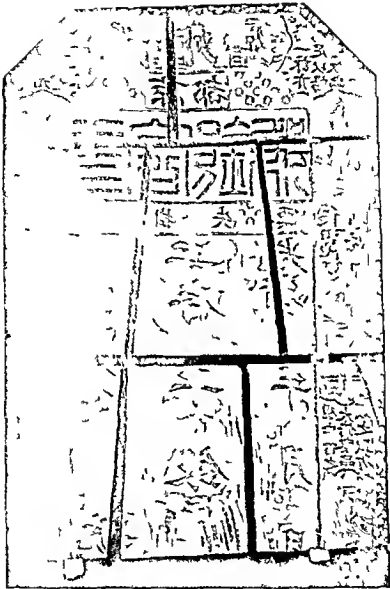


FIG. 9. The first eight pieces of horn disarticulated showing lamboos  
pieces which held them together in position.

This photograph is in natural size.

*Photographed by R. S. B.*



FIG 3 A print made from the horn block after it had been taken apart and loosely rejoined

# THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE LOLO

FENG HAN-YI AND J. K. SHRYOCK

The Lolo<sup>1</sup> are an important non-Chinese people of Southwest China. They have been known under various names in the region where they are now found for nearly 2,000 years. Their present number is unknown, although some have estimated it at about 3,000,000.<sup>2</sup> The Lolo of Ssüeh'uan have been estimated to number 1,000,000, and occupy a territory of more than 11,000 square miles. These estimates of population are much too high, and the total number of Lolo is about 1,000,000.

The Lolo are scattered over the mountainous country of Yunnan and the southwestern part of Ssüeh'uan. On the west, they extend almost to the valley of the Mekong. On the east, they have occupied in historic times the western districts of Kueichou. On the south, small scattered groups are found on the northern border of French Tonking.

In a northeastern thrust along the Ta-liang, or Great Cold, mountains which follow the northeastern course of the Yang-tzu River, they reach as far north as Chia-ting and Ya-chou, south of the Ta-tu River. This narrow strip is about 150 miles long, and somewhat less than 100 miles wide. The country is rugged, and is known as the home of the independent Lolo. On the west are the Tibetan, Sifan and Moso tribes. The Sifan are on the

<sup>1</sup> 羅羅

<sup>2</sup> This figure was set by Terrien de LACOUPERIE, in "The Language of China before the Chinese," *Trans Philological Soc.*, 1885-86, p. 479. It was quoted by Frederick Stan, in "Lolo Objects in the Public Museum, Milwaukee," *Bull.*, 1911, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 209-20. E. PITTARD, in *Les races et l'histoire*, 1924, p. 495, quoted from Stan. YOUNG CHUNG-CHI, in "A Brief Account of the Lolo," *Ling-nan Jour.*, Vol. I, pp. 134-32, quoted from Pittard. This figure is too high, and although it occurs in a recent article, is nothing but a guess by Lacouperie. The editor of *Science*, in Vol. 18, 1934, p. 1672, estimated the number of Lolo in Ssüeh'uan at above 1,000,000, and this figure is supposed to be based on W. R. MORSE, "The Nosu Tribes of Western Szechwan," *Chin Med Jour.*, March, 1933. These figures are not based on counting, and are exaggerated. An investigation by the 中國西部科學院, 特刊, No. 1, in 1935, states that the Black Lolo of Ssüeh'uan do not number more than 20,000, and the White Lolo, not more than 80,000. These figures are more reliable because they are based on an actual count of Lolo family groups in the 涼山 area.



north, and a few scattered Shan and Miao tribes are on the southeast.

The region occupied by the Lolo is a southeastern extension of the Tibetan Plateau. It is crossed by the upper reaches of the Yang-tzü River and its tributaries. The rivers have many rapids, and are not navigable for any distance. The climate is temperate, but the winters are rigorous.

The geographic position of the Lolo makes them important not only for themselves, but as holding a key to the movements of peoples in Southeast Asia. Although they possess a script,<sup>3</sup> they have not, so far as is now known, any historical literature. At present, the only sources for their past are meagre and sometimes inaccurate references in Chinese works.

The name Lolo first appears in the Yuan period; that is, it has been used for about 800 years. It was soon identified with Lulu, the name of a tribe of the Eastern Ts'uan barbarians of the fifth to the ninth centuries A.D.<sup>4</sup> It is not possible to check this identification, but the Mongols established a district called Lolo-ssü hsuan-wei<sup>5</sup> in the northern part of the Chien ch'ang Valley.

At present, the names used by the Lolo for themselves vary considerably from tribe to tribe. The initial consonant is rarely *l*, there is a wide range of vowel fluctuation, and the second syllable is usually *so* or *su*. Sometimes the second syllable is omitted.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Lolo script is pictographic and modeled somewhat after the Chinese. Chinese sources say that it was invented by a Lolo named A-bi about A.D. 550. The Lolo have three legends concerning its invention. A-bi called it *wei-shu* (standard script), the Chinese called it *Ts'uan-wên* (script of the Ts'uan). It is used chiefly for religious documents, and can be read only by the *pi mo* (shamans). Even these read only the script of their own tribe, as has been shown by V. K. Ting, in 漫遊散記, *Independent Review*, 1933, No. 35, p. 13, and No. 42, pp. 19-20, and by D'OLLONE, *In Forbidden China*, pp. 108-107. There is already a large literature on the Lolo script. The most recent and extensive work is by V. K. Ting 彝文叢刊, 1936. See also YOUNG Ching-chi, *L'écriture et les manuscrits Lolo*, 1935.

<sup>4</sup> 炎微紀聞 4 17a 羅羅本處鹿而訖. See also PELLIGOT, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde," *BEFEO* 4 (1904) 137.

<sup>5</sup> 羅羅斯宜世司 cf. 新元史 248 8b.

<sup>6</sup> Some of the variations are Mo-su, Mou su, Ngo su, Ne-su, Nei su, No-su, No, Na, and Lei-su. In Ssu-ch'uan, they are called Man-tzü, or more courteously, Man chia, which are Chinese terms. In southern Yunnan, the Shan call them Myen.

Foreign investigators have varied considerably in their treatments of the name, and their theories are not of much help.<sup>7</sup>

The term Lolo is a Chinese transcription made 800 years ago. It may not have been accurate when it was made, or it may have been a local term. Perhaps both Chinese and the Lolo language have changed in pronunciation during the intervening period. In the present state of our knowledge, it would be a mistake to offer theories of the origin and meaning of the name, since there are too many unknown factors. We may assume that the term is not of foreign origin, and that its etymology is obscure.

Although the name was used in the Yuan period, it did not become well established until the Ming. Then the *Nan-chao yeh-shih* gives a list of eleven Lolo tribes subject to the Shian state of Nan-chao.<sup>8</sup> These tribal names are not racial, but mostly appear to have been given because of peculiar cultural distinctions such as dress, occupation, and customs. Sometimes they

<sup>7</sup> Lacouperie, *op cit*, pp 480-81, derives Lolo from Lulu and this in turn from Lo-kuei. This is incorrect, as Lo-kuei, a derogatory nickname, is more recent than either Lolo or Lulu.

Paul VIAL's explanation in *Les Lolos*, 1898, that the Chinese reduplicated the syllable for euphony, is also incorrect. The earlier Chinese records wrote the name as Lulu man, which was later contracted, and had the name been Lu, it would have been written Lu man.

LIETARD considered Lolo as a corruption of No-so, a term used by the Lolo for themselves (*Au Yunnan*, "les Lo-lo p'o," 1915). But SHIROKOGOROFF ("Phonetic Notes on a Lolo Dialect and the Consonant L," *Academia Sinica, Bull.* Vol I, No 2, p 183) has shown that the syllables no and so vary so much in meaning among the Lolo that any etymological derivation is uncertain, which invalidates Lietard's explanation. Shirokogoroff suggests a number of hypotheses. The name may have a political origin (like Maichu), or it may have been given to them by their neighbors (like Tungus), or it may have been handed down from antiquity.

S. C. CLARKE, in *Among the Tribes of Southwest China*, follows a missionary named C. C. Hicks ("The Nou Su," *Chinese Recorder*, 41, pp 211 ff.), in deriving the name from a basket used by the Lolo in ancestor worship, and calls it a contemptuous nickname given by the Chinese. This is very unlikely.

C. E. JAMESON, "The Aborigines of Western China," *China Journal of Art and Science* 1, pp 376 ff., quotes CHANG Yung, a Chinese writer of the early 19th Cen., as saying that the Lolo were descended from a *kolo* ape, *kolo* being changed into Lolo. This is entirely unhistorical.

<sup>8</sup> Chuan 2, pp 25-27. Lietard, *op cit*, considered most of these names as Chinese inventions, but this is unlikely. He gives more than twenty tribal names, many of which are almost identical with those of the *Nan-chao yeh shih*.

are simply the name of the *ruling* family. Tribes move, and families die out, so that the disappearance of a name does not imply the disappearance of the group. Among the independent Lolo, there are said to be twenty-six tribes of Black Lolo, thirty tribes of White Lolo, three tribes which are mixed, and two tribes of slaves.<sup>9</sup> Early Chinese records indicate a similar condition.

The designations black and white are very common among the peoples of Southwest China. The connotation must be separately determined in each case. Sometimes these names indicate the prevailing color of the costume, as among the Black and White Miao.<sup>10</sup> In southern Hunan, certain Miao tribes are called black because they are less civilized than the Miao who live near the Chinese settlements,<sup>11</sup> and this is also true of the Black and White Lasu, a people living along the Upper Mekong who are related to the Lolo.<sup>12</sup> In most cases, these names are seldom used by the peoples to designate themselves, but are applied to them by the Chinese.

But the Lolo are an exception to this statement, for they divide themselves into black and white groups. Some western observers have missed this division entirely.<sup>13</sup> In Yunnan, the Black Lolo consist of the ruling families, and all below them are White Lolo. In Ssuch'uan, the majority belong to the black division.

This distinction among the Lolo is an old one, for the *Man-shu* and the T'ang history divide the tribes into Black and White

<sup>9</sup> Liétard, *op cit*. His information is secondary, and he does not give further details. D Ollone, who travelled through the Lolo territory in 1908-09, says, *op cit*, that the tribes occupied well-defined territories and that trespassing was resented, so that he was frequently required to change guides.

<sup>10</sup> Clarke, *op cit*, p 371.

<sup>11</sup> Jameson, *op cit*, pp 381-82.

<sup>12</sup> A Rose and J C Brown, "Lasu (Yawun) Tribes of the Burma China Frontier," *Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol III, 1910-14, pp 249-76.

<sup>13</sup> Jameson *op cit*, p 381. He says the term black refers to the color of the skin. This statement is repeated by Buxton, *The Peoples of Asia*, p 156. As a matter of fact, the Lolo have a lighter color than most of the aborigines. This has been noticed by many observers, some of whom regard them as fairer than southern Europeans. And if the Black Lolo are so named because of their skin, what of the White Lolo?

Liétard derives the name Lolo from No-so, and as no means black, it was misinterpreted by the Chinese. This hypothesis has been discussed.

Barbarians.<sup>14</sup> The way in which this distinction is used may indicate a racial difference, and certainly indicates a difference in language between the two groups.<sup>15</sup>

Among the modern Lolo, the black and white groups are different physically. The Black Lolo are tall, and are sometimes reported as taller than Europeans. They have aquiline noses, well-developed brow-ridges, and on the whole are quite different from the Mongoloid type.<sup>16</sup> The White Lolo are more Mongoloid, possess an inferior physique, and a slightly different cephalic index.<sup>17</sup>

The Black Lolo form the ruling class, and the black division also rules among the Miao of western Kueichou. Black appears to be an aristocratic designation, and the Black Lolo do not marry outside their own group. In Yunnan, the Lolo chiefs sometimes marry their daughters to the sons of Chinese officials or into distinguished Chinese families.<sup>18</sup> Among the independent Lolo of Ssuch'uan, endogamy is strictly enforced.

A possible explanation of this situation is that the Black Lolo may originally have been a conquering group of a single racial stock, while the White Lolo were of different stocks which were subjugated and had the language of the conquerors gradually imposed upon them. This process seems still to be going on among the Lolo of Ssuch'uan. In Yunnan, the Black Lolo have been

<sup>14</sup> The following tribes are mentioned in the T'ang sources: Wu-man, or Black Barbarians: Eastern Ts'uan (Lolo), Ai lo, Nan chao, Tu-ching man, Ch'ang-kun man, Shih man, Shun-man, No man, Tu lao; Pai-man, or White Barbarians: Western Ts'uan, Nan-tung-man, Chung-lin-man.

<sup>15</sup> *Man shu* 蠻書, chuan 8, pp. 3-4: "The language (of the Wu-man) is entirely different from that of the Pai-man."

<sup>16</sup> Travellers from Marco Polo until the present have noted their fine features. E. C. Baber says that they are taller than Europeans, but this seems to be exaggerated. D'Ollone, *op. cit.*, p. 51, says, "There was nothing of the Asiatic, the complexion was not yellow, but swarthy, like that of the inhabitants of southern Europe, the eyes, neither oblique nor flattened, were large, and protected by fine arched brows, the nose was aquiline, the mouth well cut . . ."

<sup>17</sup> Cf. A. LEGENDRE, "Far West Chmois," *TP*, 1909, tab. A. C. DIXON, *Racial History of Man*, p. 281, gives an analysis. See also V. K. TING, "Man yu san chi."

<sup>18</sup> For a description of such a marriage, see J. K. SMYCK, "Ch'en Ting's Account of the Marriage Customs of the Chiefs of Yunnan and Kueichou," *Amer Anthro* 36, No. 4, Oct-Dec 1934.

decimated by the Chinese in war, or have retired northward, so that in this province the majority of those called Lolo belong to the lower White group. A few ruling families have remained and accepted office under the Chinese.

Although the Lolo have been known to the Chinese for a long time, there is little information concerning them in Chinese sources. Often the facts have been confused, and because of the presence of other tribes, it is often hard to tell whether a mentioned tribe was Lolo or not. In this historic study, a starting point may be found in northwestern Kueichou, the Shui-hsi<sup>20</sup> district which was the home of the Lolo chiefs of the great An<sup>20</sup> clan.

During the Chou period, the region was part of the districts of Tsang-ko<sup>21</sup> and Ch'u-lan.<sup>22</sup> This area was conquered by Chuang Ch'iao for the feudal state of Ch'u about the end of the 4th Century B. C. In 316 B. C., it was annexed to the rival state of Ch'in by Ssü-ma Ts'o. We know nothing of the inhabitants of the region at this time.

During the Han period, the district was a part of the kingdom of Yeh-lang,<sup>23</sup> which was the largest and most powerful independent state of southwestern China. A contemporary scholar, Wang Ching-ju, identifies the Yeh-lang with the ancestors of the Lolo on linguistic grounds.<sup>24</sup> This identification is strengthened by historical evidence.

During the latter part of the Eastern Han period, the district was ruled by chiefs from whom the Lolo An family of Shui-hsi

<sup>20</sup> 水西, approximately the modern 大定 and 黔西. The name Shui hsi was first used during the Ming period, and the boundaries have varied at different times.

<sup>21</sup> The An clan 安氏 claimed descent from 濟火 of the 3rd Cen. A. D., but the name An was not used before the Ming period.

<sup>22</sup> One explanation of 牂牁 is that it meant a stake to which boats were tied. During Chuang Ch'iao's expedition, he is supposed to have tied his boat here. But CHEN Chên says that the name existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao. See 巢經巢文集, ch. 2, 12, 牂牁考. The extent of these areas is vague.

<sup>23</sup> 且蘭 was a small state annexed by Han Wu Ti. It is the modern Ping-yueh 平越 of Kueichou.

<sup>24</sup> Han shu, Tung wên ed., ch. 95, p. 1. 南夷君長以十數, 夜郎最大.

<sup>25</sup> WANG Ching-ju, "A Comparative Linguistic Study on the Songs of the Bai lang Tribe," *Academia Sinica, Nat. Res. Inst. of History and Philology, Mon. 8, Hsi-hua yen-chiu*, pp. 15-54.

claimed descent. The account of this family is given in the *Tu-shih fang-yu chi-yao*.<sup>25</sup>

"Shui-hsi-hsuan-wei-ssü"<sup>26</sup> is 300 li northwest of Kuei-yang fu.<sup>27</sup> The native chiefs of the An family<sup>28</sup> ruled here generation after generation. Their ancestors were descendants of Chi Huo.<sup>29</sup> In the third year of Chien-hsin (A.D. 226), when Chu-ko Liang made his southern expedition, the chief Tsang-ko collected provisions and built roads for the expedition. Chu-ko Liang memorialized the court and made Chi Huo the prince of Lo-tien.<sup>30</sup> He made his capital at P'u-lü,<sup>31</sup> in the present district of P'u-ting-wei.<sup>32</sup>

"It was their custom to reverence ghosts, and those who officiated at these ceremonies were called 'ghost-lords'." About the beginning of the K'ai-ch'êng period of the T'ang dynasty (c. 836), the ghost-lord A Fêng<sup>33</sup> submitted. During the period Hui-ch'ang (841-46), he was made prince of Lo-tien. In the second year of the T'ien-ch'êng period of the Later T'ang (927), P'u Lu,<sup>34</sup> the prince of Lo-tien, paid tribute to the court on behalf of his nine tribes. During the period K'ai-pao of the Sung dynasty (968-75), a man named P'u Kuei<sup>35</sup> offered his territory and submitted. He also was made prince of Lo-tien. From Chi Huo to P'u Kuei there were already thirty-six generations. At that time, Sung Ching-yang,<sup>36</sup> a native of Chên-ting,<sup>37</sup> was ordered

<sup>25</sup> 讀史方輿紀要, by 顧祖禹 (1624-80), 桐華書屋 edition of 1879. An index to the second and third parts was published in Tokyo in 1932 by AOTAMA Sadao. It identifies Ch'ing with pre-Ch'ing place-names. The passage translated is from ch. 123 pp. 16b-17b.

<sup>26</sup> 水西宣慰司. It was first established in the Ming period.

<sup>27</sup> 挂陽. <sup>28</sup> 安氏.

<sup>29</sup> 濟火. Sometimes as in the *Ming shih*, the name is given as 火濟.

<sup>30</sup> 羅甸國王. Lo-tien was used for approximately the Tsang-ko area after the Later Han period. The expression may have some connection with Lolo as *tien* means domain or country.

<sup>31</sup> 普里.

<sup>32</sup> 普定衛. It is about 45 li north of 安順府. During the Sung period, it was known as 普里蠻部. During the Yuan period it was called 普定路, and belonged to Yunnan. In the Ming period, the name was changed to P'u-ting-wei of the present An-hsun district. Under the Republic, the name has been changed to 定南汛.

<sup>33</sup> 鬼主.

<sup>34</sup> 阿鳳.

<sup>35</sup> 普露.

<sup>36</sup> 普貴.

<sup>37</sup> 宋景陽.

<sup>38</sup> 真定 the modern 正定.

by the emperor to pacify the barbarians of the region. Therefore the court established the district of Tsung kuan fu<sup>39</sup> for him in Ta wan ku lo<sup>40</sup>. The Yuan emperors created the offices of An fu<sup>41</sup> and Chang kuan,<sup>42</sup> and conferred them on different chiefs.

"In the fourth year of Hung Wu of the Ming dynasty (1372), the chiefs A1 Ts'ui,<sup>43</sup> Sung Ch'in,<sup>44</sup> and a native named An Sha-ch'i<sup>45</sup> submitted voluntarily. A1 Ts'ui was made the Hsuan wei shih of Kueichou, while Sung Ch'in and An Sha-ch'i were made sub-prefects. They established their position at Kuei yang, but also ruled over their tribes in Shui hsi. A1 Ts'ui was the strongest. When he died, he was succeeded by his younger brother An Ti.<sup>46</sup> Then they assumed An as their surname. The An clan ruled forty-eight tribes of Lolo, whose chiefs were called 'heads'.<sup>47</sup> The Sung clan lived for generations near the capital of the district, ruling twelve tribes of barbarians, whose chiefs were called 'horse-heads'. The clan of the sub-prefect An ruled a single tribe of barbarians, whose chief was also called 'head'.

"The An clan occupied the district of Shui hsi for generations. On the south, it extends to the Lu kuang,<sup>48</sup> on the east it bordered Tsun i,<sup>49</sup> on the west it was bounded by the Ch'ih shui,<sup>50</sup> on the north it reaches Yung ning.<sup>51</sup> It forms a continuous tract of several hundred li. The mountains are rugged and the growth dense. It contains the fortified strongholds of Shui hsi, Ta fang,<sup>52</sup>

<sup>39</sup> 總管府

<sup>40</sup> 大萬谷落

<sup>41</sup> 安撫

<sup>42</sup> 長官

<sup>43</sup> 鶴翠 during the Yuan period held the offices 四川行省左丞 and 順元宣慰使 concurrently. See the *Yen chiao chi wen* 3:1.

<sup>44</sup> 宋欽

<sup>45</sup> 女沙溪

<sup>46</sup> 安的 T'ien Ju-ch'en (*Yen chiao chi wen* 3:3) says that A1 Ts'ui was succeeded by his wife and later by his younger brother An Yun. 安勻. An Ti is not mentioned and possibly Ku Tsu-yu is mistaken here.

<sup>47</sup> 頭目

<sup>48</sup> 陸廣 a city on the banks of the Lu kuang river in the 修文 district of Kuei chow. The Lu kuang is the largest river of Shui hsi. It rises to the east of P'u ting flows through the 修文 district and empties into the 烏江.

<sup>49</sup> 遵義 This is the Ching name.

<sup>50</sup> 赤水 The modern 畢節縣. In the Ming period it was called Chih shui wei.

<sup>51</sup> 永寧 The present 鼓水 district of Ssuehuan. During the Yuan period it was called 永寧路 and during the Ming 永寧衛.

<sup>52</sup> 大力地 In the modern 大定 district. It is in the western part of Shui hsi near 畢節縣.

Chih-chin,<sup>53</sup> and Huo-shao.<sup>54</sup> Ta-fang was the strongest and most important. They (the An family) exploited the natives, becoming stronger day by day.

"During the period Wan-li (1573-1619), An Ch'iang-ch'ên<sup>55</sup> secretly sided with the chief of Po,<sup>56</sup> who rose in revolt. The court was angry, and sent an expedition which defeated and killed Po.<sup>57</sup> An Ch'iang-ch'ên became afraid, betrayed his former allies, and attacked them. The court praised his merit, winking at his earlier treachery.

"About the beginning of the period T'ien-ch'i (c. 1621), An Ch'iang-ch'ên died, and was succeeded by his son, An Wei,<sup>58</sup> who was young and weak. The native chief An Pang-yen<sup>59</sup> forced him into a rebellion, along with the barbarian chief of Yung-ning, Shê Ch'ung-ming.<sup>60</sup> The court sent a punitive expedition which defeated Shê Ch'ung-ming, who escaped to An Pang-yen. The native chiefs of Wu-sa<sup>61</sup> and Chan-i<sup>62</sup> made a counter-revolt against An Pang-yen. The latter terrified the border districts of Kueichou and Yunnan. To the south, he invaded Kuei-yang,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>53</sup> 織金城 In the northwestern section of Shui hsi

<sup>54</sup> 火灼城 It is to the north of the modern district of 黔西. It is also called 火灼堡, or 火著.

<sup>55</sup> 安疆臣

<sup>56</sup> 播酋, i. e., YANG Ying lung 楊應龍, who led a revolt from A. D. 1595 to 1601. Yang's ancestor became chief of 播州 in the T'ang period, having taken the territory from Nan-chao. From the founder to YANG Ying lung, 29 generations of chiefs held the position for nearly 800 years. See the *Ming shih*, 312 1-11.

<sup>57</sup> [omitted]

<sup>58</sup> 安位

<sup>59</sup> 安邦彥.

<sup>60</sup> 奢崇明 Shê was the name of a large Lolo clan along the Ssüch'uan Kueichou border during the Ming period. Yung-ning 永寧 is the modern 關嶺縣.

<sup>61</sup> 烏撒, approximately the modern 鎮雄 of Yunnan and 威寧 of Kueichou. The *Yüan shih ts'i li chih*, Tung wên ed., ch. 61, p. 285, says "Wu-sa is a barbarian name. The old name was 巴凡兀姑, and it is now called 巴的甸. It includes the six tribes of Wu-sa and Wu-mêng 烏蒙. Later their descendants held the whole territory, adopting the name of their ancestor Wu-sa as their tribal name. They surrendered in the tenth year of Chih-yuan (1273), and the Wu-sa wei was established in 1276." The Wu-sa were Lolo. The chief who revolted with An Chiang-chên was An Hsiao-lang 安效良.

<sup>62</sup> 落益, in eastern Yunnan. During the T'ang period, it was occupied by the Po 播 and La 刺 tribes, who probably used a Shan language. Under the Nan-chao, the area was occupied by the Mo-mi 摩彌 tribe, probably allied with the Lolo. The chief connected with this revolt was Li Hsien 李賢.

<sup>63</sup> 挂陽 A well known city of Kueichou.



and to the east, P'ien yuan<sup>64</sup> The native chief of Hung pien<sup>65</sup> and the Miao tribes of the east and west made counter revolts against him The government forces attacked him on all sides, but met with no success

"In the fourth year of T'ien ch'ü (1624), the viceroy Chu Hsieh yuan<sup>66</sup> proposed that the Yunnan forces should attack Chan<sup>1</sup> in order to prevent An Pang yen's reinforcement from Wu sa, and with another force at T'ien shêng ch'iao<sup>67</sup> and Hsun tien<sup>68</sup> to block his retreat The Ssüch'uan forces should attack Pi chieh<sup>69</sup> to break his communications Another force should advance from Lung ch'ang<sup>70</sup> and Yen t'ou<sup>71</sup> to seize his strategic positions The Kueichou forces should advance from P'u ting<sup>72</sup> and cross the Ssü la River<sup>73</sup> direct to An Pang yen's headquarters Forces from Lu kuang<sup>74</sup> and Ya ch'ih<sup>75</sup> should attack at weak points The Kuangsi forces should advance from Ssu ch'êng<sup>76</sup> as a reserve The main army should advance from Chan<sup>1</sup> to attack him in front But at this time the viceroy resigned his office because of the death of a parent

"The viceroy resumed his office in the second year of Ch'ung-chêng (1629) He commanded the armies of Ssüch'uan, Hunan,

<sup>64</sup> 偏沅 A combination of 沅州 and 偏橋關 Under the Ming the governor of Pien yuan 偏沅巡撫 was appointed to manage the affairs of the Miao staying half the year in Yuan chon and the other half in Pien chiao-kuan The office was abolished under the Ching Under the Ming it was one of the most important positions in southwestern China

<sup>65</sup> 洪邊 was first established during the Yuan period about 8 li north of Kuei yang The rebel chief was Sung Wan hua 宋萬化

<sup>66</sup> 朱燮元

<sup>67</sup> 天生橋 northwest of 安順縣 in Kueichou A place important strategically

<sup>68</sup> 尋甸 in Yunnan Under the Ming it was called 尋甸軍民府 which was later changed to 尋甸府

<sup>69</sup> 畢節 in northwestern Kueichou It is an important center of communications between Ssüch'uan, Yunnan and Kueichou The cliffs made it difficult to capture

<sup>70</sup> 龍場 In the modern 修文縣 Kueichou

<sup>71</sup> 威寧

<sup>72</sup> 普定 in the 安順 district of Kueichou

<sup>73</sup> 思臘河

<sup>74</sup> 陸廣 the modern Lu kuang river Cf. note 48

<sup>75</sup> 鴨池 the Ya-chih river one of the upper tributaries of the Lu kuang

<sup>76</sup> 泗城 in the modern 凌雲 district of Kuangsi It has been abolished under the Republic

Yunnan, Kueichou and Kuangsi to advance again. He ordered the Yunnan forces to advance on Wu-sa, and the Ssüch'uan forces on Yung-ning and Pi-chieh in order to cut communications. He himself led the main force stationed along the Lu-kuang, advancing on Ta-fang. At this time, An Pang-yen and Shê Tsung-ming were attacking Chih-shui, and had advanced far into Yung-ning. The viceroy ordered one government force to advance from San-ch'a,<sup>17</sup> one from Lu-kuang, one from Tsun-i, and sent a light force to encircle the 'handits' from the rear. The 'handits' could not resist this attack, and collapsed. An Pang-yen was killed in battle, while An Wei was besieged in Ta-fang. The 'bandits' were helpless, and offered to give up the territory of six tribes on the borders of Shui-hsi, and to open a highway through Pi-chieh as the conditions of surrender. The viceroy accepted these terms. He sent punitive forces to pacify the revolting Miao tribes of Pai-chin, Liang-chiang, Pa-hsiang, Lang-pai and Huo-hung,<sup>18</sup> in order to isolate Shui-hsi. An Wei died not long after, and his clan submitted and surrendered their territory. The viceroy petitioned the court that the territory of Shui-hsi should be divided among the native chiefs and the Chinese who had taken part in the expedition, in order to divide the strength of Shui-hsi, and make it easy to handle. Thus Shui-hsi was once more pacified."

Of these tribal chiefs, the An and Shê were definitely Lolo, but whether the Sung and Li were Lolo is not known. It may be assumed that many tribes under the authority of Lolo chiefs were not Lolo. This passage indicates how great an effort the Ming dynasty was forced to make in order to 'pacify' the Lolo—an effort that required the armies of five provinces, commanded by the viceroy of South China. How far the exhaustion caused by this effort contributed to the final downfall of the dynasty it is difficult to say, but it should be considered a factor in the débâcle which culminated in 1644.

Under the Ch'ing dynasty, the An Lolo chiefs of Shui-hsi were still strong. In the third year of K'ang-hsi (c. 1665), Wu San-kuei

<sup>17</sup> 三岔, i.e., 三岔寨, north of the P'u-ting district

<sup>18</sup> 擺金, 兩江, 巴鄉, 狼狽, 火烘 These five tribes cannot be identified at present. The names seem to be geographical

conquered An K'un,<sup>79</sup> and divided his territory into five prefectures. An K'un's wife fled to Wu-mang, where she gave birth to a son named An Shih-tsung.<sup>80</sup> Later it was decided not to employ Chinese in the local government, and An Shih-tsung was appointed Hsuan-wei-shih of the area in 1683. In 1702, the viceroy Wang Chi-wên<sup>81</sup> memorialized the court, saying that An Shih-tsung should be removed because of maladministration. Accordingly he was disinherited, and his territory brought directly under Chinese control.

There is an excellent description of the Lolo of this area in the *Yen-chiao-chi-wên*.<sup>82</sup> This book was written in 1560 by T'ien Ju-ch'êng,<sup>83</sup> who served as a high official in Southwest China, and who had more than ten years' experience in dealing with the native tribes. The book has been used as a source by many later authors, but the description of the Lolo has been largely neglected.

"Lolo" was originally Lulu,<sup>84</sup> which was corrupted into the present form. There were two kinds. Those who live in Shui-hsi, Shib-êrh-ying,<sup>85</sup> Ning-ku,<sup>86</sup> Ma-ch'ang,<sup>87</sup> and Tsao-ch'i<sup>88</sup> are the Black Lolo. Those who live in Mo-i<sup>89</sup> are the White Lolo, and are also called "White barbarians." The customs are much the same, but the Blacks are the more numerous. The Lolo reverence ghosts, so they are also called "Lo kuei."

"In the time of the Shu Han dynasty (221-265), a man named Chi Huo was a follower of Chu-ko Liang at the capture of Mêng-huo, and he was appointed Prince of Lo-tien. He was the ancestor

<sup>79</sup> 安坤. Cf. the *Ch'ing shih kao*, 土司傳, 4 1b-2b

<sup>80</sup> 安世宗. Cf. the *Ch'ing shih kao*, *ibid.*, 4 11b

<sup>81</sup> 王繼文.

<sup>82</sup> 炎微紀聞 4 14a of the Chia-yeh-t'ang edition

<sup>83</sup> 田汝成. <sup>84</sup> 羅羅.

<sup>85</sup> 盧鹿

<sup>86</sup> 十二營, 30 li north of the 鎮寧 district, Kueichou. The district was abolished in the Ch'ing period

<sup>87</sup> 寧谷, 30 li southwest of the 安順 district, Kueichou. The district was abolished during the Ch'ing period

<sup>88</sup> 馬場, along the Ma-ch'ang river, in the 平越 district of Kueichou

<sup>89</sup> 漕溪.

<sup>90</sup> 募役, about 60 li south of the 關嶺 district. Under the Yuan, it was a 寨 and under the Ming and Ch'ing, 長官司.

of the present Hsuan wei shih of the An ch'ın Those who lived in Tzū-ch'ı,<sup>91</sup> Yeh lang,<sup>92</sup> and Ts'ing ko,<sup>93</sup> were called by the name of their country Those who lived in T'e mo,<sup>94</sup> Po i,<sup>95</sup> and Chiu t'io,<sup>96</sup> were called by the name of their prefecture All were Lolo

"The Lolo are stupid, and love their masters Even when their masters were tyrannical and killed whole clans, they still supported their master's children, just as wives and concubines love their husbands, and never became their husband's enemies Therefore from Chi Huo until the present, for more than a thousand years, they have been masters of the country from generation to generation They are divided into forty eight tribes, the chief of a tribe being called 'head'

"The people have deep eyes, tall stature, dark complexion, and white teeth Their hair is worn in a certain way,<sup>97</sup> and they go barefoot They wear felt, *li*,<sup>98</sup> and a kind of reed belt about the waist On the left shoulder hangs a piece of sheep skin They carry a long sword, and a case of arrows The rich wear gold amulets They are fierce, and love to fight They are expert in the art of attack, and respect strength In prosperity, they fish, hunt, and cut lumber, but in times of scarcity, they seek to kill and plunder Therefore their armies are the best of all the barbarians The proverb says, 'The Lo kuei of Shun hsi break heads and [then] wag tails' This means that their reactions are brusque

"They have also a script like the Mongol They have neither chairs nor mats When they eat, the meal consists of a plate of rice and a bowl of water They take some rice with a spoon, roll it into a ball, and throw it into the mouth After eating they rinse their mouths and brush their teeth, and they consider this hygienic They shave the hair on the upper lip, but keep that on the face The women wind their hair into a knot, and tie it with black tape In their sexual orgies they respect no generations, and are not ashamed of this When their fathers die they marry their step mothers When brothers die, they marry the

<sup>91</sup> 自杞

<sup>92</sup> 夜郎

<sup>93</sup> 牂牁

<sup>94</sup> 特磨 the 廣南 district of Yunnan Under the Sung it was called 特磨道

<sup>95</sup> 白衣

<sup>96</sup> 九道

<sup>97</sup> 椎結

<sup>98</sup> 戴笠 a conical hat made of bamboo splints

widows also. When a bride first sees her husband's parents, she does not prostrate herself, but with naked body she offers washing utensils. This is called *fêng t'ang*<sup>99</sup>. Their dwellings are unlike the Chinese. They assemble like running wolves. They are suspicious, and always fighting each other.

'The customs of the White Lolo are similar to those of the Black Lolo, but their food is much poorer. They have cups and plates, and cook with a three footed pot<sup>100</sup>. They fry (meat) with the hair still on, and tear it with their teeth while it is still bloody. Rats, birds, ant eggs, locusts, and all kinds of worms (insects?) are collected, burned, and eaten, just as if the people were pigs. They do not write, but keep knotted cords and notched strips of wood. Girls who were renowned for licentiousness were much sought in marriage, because they were considered beautiful. They wrap the dead with cow or horse hide and cremate them. Those who live in P'u ting are called A bo<sup>101</sup>. In their customs they are like the White Lolo. They sell tea for a livelihood."

The information concerning the area including the western districts of Kueichow and the northeastern districts of Yunnan before the T'ang period is very meagre. The country was mountainous and remote. Chinese influence had hardly penetrated beyond the southwest border of Chien wei<sup>102</sup> and Shu shih,<sup>103</sup> i.e., the modern district of I pin<sup>104</sup>. The main road from Ssü ch'uan to Yunnan used from the T'ang period until the present day skirted the eastern border of this area, passing through Hsu yung, Pi chieh, Chan 1 and K'un ming<sup>105</sup>. The *Man shu* calls this the northern route. Beginning with the Chin period (beginning in A.D. 265), the peoples of this area were known as the Ts'uan<sup>106</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> 奉堂<sup>100</sup> 三足釜<sup>101</sup> 阿和<sup>102</sup> 犍爲<sup>103</sup> 朱提 朱 is pronounced like 殊 and 提 like 上支反<sup>104</sup> 宜賓<sup>105</sup> 敘永, 卑節, 雲益, 昆明. The place-names given in the *Man shu* Ch. 1 pp. 4-5 cannot be identified. But the book says that places along this route were inhabited by the Lulu and other peoples of Lolo affinities e.g. 過魯望第七程至竹子嶺, 嶺東有畢蠻部落, 嶺西有盧鹿蠻部落. 第六程至生蠻磨彌殿部落. 此等部落, 皆東蠻烏蠻也. 男則髮髻, 女則散髮. 見人無禮節拜跪, 三譯四譯乃與華通, 大部落則有鬼主. . .<sup>106</sup> 蠻

"During the T'ien-pao period (742-55), northeast from Ch'u-ching chou<sup>107</sup> and southwest to Hsuan-ch'êng,<sup>108</sup> towns and villages are visible from each other i.e., they are close together and cattle and horses are numerous in the fields. Those who live in Shih-ch'êng, K'un chou, Ch'u-o, Chin-ning, Yu-hsien, An-ning and Lung-ho-ch'êng<sup>109</sup> are called the Western Ts'uan. Those who live in Ch'u-ching chou, Mi-lu ch'uan, Shêng-ma ch'uan and Pu-t'ou<sup>110</sup> are called the Eastern Ts'uan."<sup>111</sup>

According to the *Man shu*, Shih-ch'êng is the old Wei-hsien<sup>112</sup> which is fifteen miles from the modern Ch'u-ching. Lung-ho-ch'êng is to the east of Ta-li. Therefore the area occupied by the Western Ts'uan was approximately from the modern Ch'u-ching westward to Ta-li. The Ch'u-chou and Ching-chou of the T'ang period were immediately south of the modern Ch'ing-fu and Chang-ning<sup>113</sup> districts of Ssüch'uan. Mi-lu is approximately the modern Lu-hsi<sup>114</sup>. Shêng-ma is near the modern Ch'u-ching. The identification of Pu-t'ou is difficult, but it appears to be south of the modern Chien-shui<sup>115</sup> on the Red, or Tonking River. Therefore the Eastern Ts'uan occupied a large area south of the Yang-tzû River, from the I-pin<sup>116</sup> districts south nearly to the borders of French Tonking.

The Ts'uan have usually been identified as Lolo. The Eastern Ts'uan were undoubtedly Lolo, as can be seen from the description in the *Man shu*, but the Western Ts'uan appear to have been different. They belong to the group of White Barbarians, and

<sup>107</sup> 曲靖州 Under the T'ang there was no Ch'u-ching and this reference should read 曲州 and 靖州 Ch'u-chou is near the modern 慶符, and Ching-chou is in the old 饒永 of Ssüch'uan.

<sup>108</sup> 宣城.

<sup>109</sup> 石城, 昆州, 曲甓, 晉寧, 喻獻, 安寧, 龍和城。

<sup>110</sup> 曲靖州, 彌鹿川, 升麻川, 步頭

<sup>111</sup> *Man shu*, ch. 4, p. 1a

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 2, p. 2 石城川, 味羣故地也。貞觀中爲爲郎州。開元初改爲南寧州。州城卽諸葛亮戰處故地也。

<sup>113</sup> 慶符 and 長寧 Cf. note 107

<sup>114</sup> 瀘西縣

<sup>115</sup> 建水縣, i.e., of the old 臨安府 Concerning the identification of 步頭 cf. PELLEROT, "Deux itinéraires," *BEFEO* 4 138

<sup>116</sup> 宜賓

were different linguistically and culturally from the Eastern Ts'uan. During the latter part of the T'ang period, both Ts'uan were under the rule of the Nan chao state. The Nan chao king Ko lo feng (A. D. 748-79) forced 20,000 families of the Western Ts'uan to migrate to the Yung chang area. The Eastern Ts'uan dispersed into the mountains and escaped a similar fate. Somewhat later they spread over the area formerly occupied by the Western Ts'uan.<sup>117</sup>

The problem is the origin of the term Ts'uan. The Western Ts'uan claimed that their ancestor came from the An<sup>118</sup> district of Shensi during the Ch'in period. This is a tradition which does not appear to fit the facts. From the 3rd Century A. D. the Ts'uan were among the ruling clans of the Yunnan Kueichow area. When Chu ho Liang made his expedition into Yunnan, he moved 10,000 families of the Black Ch'iang<sup>119</sup> into Ssuch'uan, and he divided the remainder of the population among the larger clans, among which was the Ts'uan.<sup>120</sup> Possibly this clan became so powerful that the whole population came to be known to the Chinese by its name. Whether the ruling family was descended from Chinese or not it is impossible to say, for the tradition means very little. The name Ts'uan was not used after the T'ang period.

The Lolo of Yunnan have usually been identified with the Ts'uan, and the Lolo script was called Ts'uan script in the older Chinese books. But it is hardly correct to identify all the Ts'uan with the Lolo. Ts'uan was a political designation, used from the 4th to the 10th Century A. D., during which time it may have been applied to many quite different aboriginal tribes. The

<sup>117</sup> *Man shu* ch. 4 pp. 9a-2b. 閼騭鳳, 遣昆川城者楊牟利以兵圍騭西蠻, 徙二十餘萬戶於永昌城。烏蠻以言語不通, 多散林谷, 故得不徙。 . . . 烏蠻種類, 稍稍復振, 後徙西蠻故地。 Cf. also *Hsin T'ang shu* 000B p. 11.

<sup>118</sup> *Hsin T'ang shu* ch. 222B p. 10. 西蠻自云本安邑人, 七世祖晉南寧太守, 中國亂遂王蠻中。 The *Yunnan tung ch'ü ch.* 180 p. 21 says that there was no such title as 南寧太守 under the Ch'in. The place name 南寧 was first used under the Ch'i and Liang dynasties but the title of the office was 刺史 not 太守.

<sup>119</sup> 黑羌.  
<sup>120</sup> *Hua yang kuo chih* ch. 4 p. 6. [諸葛亮] . . . 移南中勁卒黑羌萬餘家於蜀, 爲五部。所當無前, 軍號飛 . . . , 分其羸弱配大姓作姦要。 孟景毛才爲部曲。

Eastern Ts'uan were nominally under the control of Nan-chao, but enjoyed considerable independence.

During the Ming period, the area in Ssüch'uan occupied by the Eastern Ts'uan during the T'ang period was known as the four Chün-min-fu,<sup>121</sup> Wu-mêng, Wu-sa, Tung-ch'uan, and Chên-hsiung.<sup>122</sup> According to the Ming history,<sup>123</sup> these peoples were descended from the Lolo tribe called Wu-mêng during the T'ang period. The history also states that under the Sung, a chief was given the title of prince of Wu-mêng, and that the Mongols established chiefs called Hsuan-wei-shih in these places. Wu-sa was the most important, and a special official was stationed there. At the beginning of the Ming period, the area was conquered by the Chinese, but never very successfully, as the people always aided their relatives of Shui-hsi in their rebellions.

Wu San-kuei conquered this area for the Manchus, although they were obliged to reconquer it after his rebellion. During the Yung-chêng period (1723-35), the energetic viceroy O Êrh-t'ai<sup>124</sup> recommended the abolition of the regime of local self-government under native chiefs, and a Chinese administration was substituted. As a result, all the Lolo chiefs rose in revolt, there were sanguinary battles before the rebellion could be suppressed, and large numbers of Lolo were killed. For this reason there are few Lolo remaining in this area at present.

Lastly, there is the area of the independent Lolo. To the northwest of the Ta-liang shan is the Chien-ch'ang Valley.<sup>125</sup> During the Han period, the northern part of this valley was called Chiung-tu.<sup>126</sup> In the sixth year of Yüan-t'ing (109 B. C.) it was organized as the Yueh-sui-chün,<sup>127</sup> and this name continued in use under the Later Han, Chin, Liu Sung and Ch'i dynasties. The Later Chou changed the name to Hsi-ning chou,<sup>128</sup> and still

<sup>121</sup> 軍民府.

<sup>122</sup> 烏蒙, 烏撒, 東川, 鎮雄.

<sup>123</sup> *Ming shih*, ch. 311, pp. 4-5 東川芒部諸夷種類皆出於獠獠, 厥後子孫蕃衍, 各立疆場, 乃異其名曰東川, 烏撒, 烏蒙, 芒部, 祿肇, 水西。無事則互起爭端, 有事則相為救援。

<sup>124</sup> Cf. *Ch'ing shih kao*, 土司傳, 三, pp. 1-2, and 四, pp. 1-5

<sup>125</sup> 建昌.

<sup>126</sup> 邛都.

<sup>127</sup> 越嶲郡

<sup>128</sup> 西寧州.



later it was made Yen chou<sup>129</sup> In the third year of Hsien t'ung (863), the district was annexed by Nan chao, who first used the name Chien ch'ang The Nan chao authorities brought in Black and White Barbarians It is not known whether these were Lolo During the Sung period, the state of Ta li which had succeeded Nan chao lost control of the area, in which civil wars raged When the Mongols conquered Yunnan, the chiefs of the area surrendered The Ming annexed the area, and changed the name<sup>130</sup>

The Chien ch'ang Valley is followed by the main route to Southwest China and beyond It was the route of the expedition of Chu ko Liang, and all dynasties have endeavored to keep it open The Han emperors were not overly successful in this, and even the T'ang could keep the road open for only a short period The Lolo in the valley and in the districts among the foothills were subdued by the Chinese, and Chinese administrative districts established among them

But there is little information concerning the Lolo of the Ta liang mountains Presumably they remained independent until almost the end of the Ch'ing period During the Yung cheng (1723-35) and Chia ch'ing (1796-1820) periods efforts were made to subdue them, but apparently they were not successful Lolo parties constantly raided the Chinese colonists, many of whom were carried away as slaves About 1870, the Chinese general CHOU Ta wu<sup>131</sup> marched into the heart of the Ta liang mountains and set free thousands of captives In the present century, the energetic general CHAO Êrh feng<sup>132</sup> proposed to conquer completely the mountain Lolo The expedition was postponed by the death of Kuang hsu in 1908 Shortly after this, the Lolo killed a British missionary, and CHAO Êrh feng attacked them both from the northeast and the southwest The two forces met in the mountains, and Chao was able to build a road across the range, along which garrisons were maintained He prohibited the Black Lolo from keeping slaves The government by native chiefs was

<sup>129</sup> 嚴州

<sup>130</sup> This was frequently done after a change of dynasties The new name was

建昌衛

<sup>131</sup> 周達武

<sup>132</sup> 趙爾豐.

abolished, and Chinese administrative districts were established. So at the very end of the Ch'ing dynasty, the independent Lolo country, made famous by Baher and d'Ollone, was finally subdued.<sup>133</sup>

This historical sketch of the three important areas occupied by the Lolo gives what can be gleaned about them from Chinese sources. A word may be said about certain peculiar features of Lolo culture.

With the exception of the families of chiefs, the Lolo are less advanced in material culture than their neighbors. They are semi-pastoral, but do not milk their cows. Agriculture is left to the slaves where these exist, and these can hardly be called Lolo. Their houses are huts of rammed earth, covered with fir planks and interlaced with bamboo strips. There is practically no household furniture, and the only utensils are a few turned wooden bowls, bamboo baskets, and iron pans.

They appear to know no condiments except salt, which is a great delicacy. Their only textiles are a rough and primitive hempen fabric, and the tough felt used for cloaks. They appear to have neither money, weights, nor measures. There is no pottery, and this characteristic they share with the ancient peoples of this area, for the *Man shu* says that the Nan-chao had no pottery, but used containers of gold, silver, and bamboo.<sup>134</sup>

The felt cloak of the Lolo is not found among any of the surrounding peoples. The texture of the felt is rough and uneven, and the color is brown, blue, or the natural tint of the wool. Both men and women wear the cloak, winter and summer. It is mattress, blanket, and even roof. The antiquity of the cloak is attested by the *Man shu*.

"All the barbarians wear felt cloaks. Their other garments are similar to those of the Chinese, but the hoods are different. The Nan-chao used red damask (?) and others, gray. Their custom was to use a piece of cloth with the edges of one corner sewed together like a horn. Into this was stuffed a wooden cone.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. *Ch'ing shih kao*, 土司傳二, pp. 17

<sup>134</sup> *Man shu*, ch. 8, p. 2b. 南詔家食用金銀, 其餘官將則用竹單, 貴者飯以筯, 不匙。賤者, 搏之而食。

The device was then fixed to the back of the head, the hair twisted round it, and the remaining cloth wrapped about the head. Only the rulers and high officials were allowed to wear this. The lower officials and the warriors wore their hair in a knot on the forehead, and were not allowed to wear the hood. All wear felt cloaks, and go barefoot."<sup>135</sup>

The Nan chao of the T'ang period spoke a Shan language. The modern Shan do not use felt in general, or felt cloaks in particular.

The well known Lolo "horn" is a method of wearing the hair, which is thrown forward, twisted, and coiled on the forehead until it resembles a horn. No other group in Southwest China dresses the hair in this way, yet the *Man shu* shows that lower officials and warriors of the Nan chao did this, which makes it probable that the bulk of the Nan chao armies was formed of Lolo.

Among the Naga tribes of Manipur there is one group which dresses the hair in a horn similar to that of the Lolo.<sup>136</sup> As no other Asiatic groups wear the hair in this way, such a coincidence can hardly be accidental, and there is said to be a Lolo tradition that their ancestors came from that direction. Such questions cannot be settled with certainty.

Two other features of Lolo culture may be briefly mentioned, the disposal of the dead, and the cult of the ancestors.

All peoples are conservative about religion in general, and about the disposal of the dead in particular. The Lolo are surrounded by Buddhist peoples, but Buddhist beliefs and practices have made practically no impression upon them. Christian missionaries have had practically no effect. Since the Lolo have resisted all external religious influences in the past, it is probable that their method of disposal of the dead is of great antiquity. In contrast to other aboriginal peoples of China, the Lolo practice cremation. This was noticed by the Chinese as early as the T'ang period, for the *Man shu* says, "The Wu man (Black Barbarians) do not

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> T. C. HODSON *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* 1911 pp. 29-30. See also the plate facing p. 21. But if the twisted hair be considered a queue, there have been many northern peoples sharing this feature. Cf. KURAJICHÍ SHIRATORI, "The Queue among the Peoples of North Asia," *Mem. Toyo Bunko* No. 4.

bury their dead. They burn a corpse three days after death, and cover the ashes with soil. They keep only the ears. The Nan-chao keep the ears in golden vases, which are placed in a silver box and stored in a special room. At each season they are taken out and sacrifices are offered to them. The common people use copper and iron vases."<sup>137</sup>

The Wu man included the Eastern Ts'uan who were the ancestors of the Lolo. The Lolo do not practice the preservation of the ears, but the practice of cremation is corroborated by Marco Polo, who visited the region. "When any of them die, the bodies are burnt, and then they taken the bones and put them in little chests. These are carried up the mountains and placed in great caverns, where they are hung up in such wise that neither man nor beasts can come to them."<sup>138</sup>

The Nan chao are generally considered to have been Shan, although it should be noticed that Shan is a linguistic group, rather than a race. The modern Shan do not cremate their dead. In spite of Buddhist and Hindu influences, they bury them. This might indicate that culturally the Nan chao were closer to the Lolo than to the modern Shan who are considered their direct descendants, or that the bulk of the Nan chao subjects were Lolo. The *Man shu* also says that "the White Barbarians bury their dead like the Chinese, and plant trees about the graves."<sup>139</sup> This indicates that the terms black and white involved differences in culture.

The Tang history says that the barbarians revered the ghosts (ancestors?), and had "ghost lords" who ruled over them. Each family annually contributed an ox or a goat, which were sacrificed at the home of the "ghost lord." When they summoned the ghosts or sent them away, they carried arms, and at that time they made raids, or avenged their wrongs.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>137</sup> *Man shu* chuan 8

<sup>138</sup> E. C. BABER "China in Some of Its Physical and Social Aspects" *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society* n. s. V 1883 pp. 445-48 identifies the Coloman of Marco Polo with the Lolo in which he is probably correct.

<sup>139</sup> *Man shu* chuan 8

<sup>140</sup> *Hsin Tang shu* lei chuan 147. The same custom was formerly practiced by the Yakut. W. JOCHELSON "Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut" Boas Anniversary Volume 1906 p. 263

All this historic and descriptive information may be brought to bear upon the theories of the origin of the Lolo

The earliest theory is that of Lacouperie,<sup>141</sup> who held that the Lolo were a southeastern extension of the peoples of northeastern Tibet. He connects the Lolo with the Jung and Chiang of the old Chinese records. As he offers no substantial evidence to support this theory, it can be discussed more fully with that of Ting.

Vial and others connect the Lolo with the Tibetans on linguistic evidence. Unfortunately for this theory, such evidence is chiefly the comparison of a limited number of selected words. Our knowledge of the linguistic principles of the Sinitic group of languages has hardly advanced to the point where exact generalizations can be made upon the relations between these different languages.

V K Ting is the first investigator to place his hypothesis upon a physical and historical basis.<sup>142</sup> During his prospecting tours in Yunnan, he was able to take measurements of a number of Lolo. The prevailing cephalic index that he obtained is dolichocephalic. He concludes that "historically the Lolo, in association with the Chiang, formed an important people in northwestern Ssüch'uan, Kokonor, and South Turkestan. In the last place they intermarried with the Iranian people known as the Yueh chih. The Iranian element may have found its way into the Lolo through the Chiang."<sup>143</sup> Ting appears to use the term Iranian in the same sense as Ripley.

In a later publication,<sup>144</sup> Ting said that the subjects he examined were mostly White Lolo, so that his findings are not surprising. The dolichocephalic factor corresponds to Dixon's Caspian type, which is the secondary dominant factor among the White Lolo.<sup>145</sup> As the White Lolo are a mixed group subject to the

<sup>141</sup> *Op cit* pp 480-81. VIAL *Les Lolo* 1893. See also J DENIKER *Races of Man* 1900 pp 381-82 and H R DAVIES *Yunnan* p 337.

<sup>142</sup> V K TING *Native Tribes of Yunnan* *China Medical Journal* March 1921.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>144</sup> *Man yu san chi* (Travels in Yunnan) *Independent Review* Nos 34-36 1933.

<sup>145</sup> R B DIXON *Racial History of Man* p 281. L KILBORN and R MORSE are said to have made measurements of Lolo recently but the results have not yet been published.

Black Lolo, the dolicocephalic factor may represent a strain of the older population of Mon-Khmer peoples.<sup>146</sup> Dixon based his analysis on Legendre's measurements, in which the brachycephalic factor prevails. The number of subjects examined by Ting and Legendre was not sufficient in either case for their evidence to be considered conclusive.

It is far-fetched to attribute the supposed Caucasoid features of the Lolo to an infusion of Iranian blood from the Yueh-chih. The racial affinities of the latter are still a matter of dispute, but the most common opinion is that they were Indo-Scythians.<sup>147</sup> The fragmentary information of the *Ch'ien Han shu*<sup>148</sup> indicates that they were a nomadic people of Eastern Turkestan. About the end of the 3rd Century B.C. they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu. A part of the group migrated westward, conquering the Tocharians who had overthrown the Greek state of Bactria. About the beginning of the Christian era, they conquered north-western India, where they were known as the Kushanas. A section of the Yueh chih did not migrate, but moved southward, mixing with the Ch'iang. After the Chinese had driven the Hsiung-nu from Eastern Turkestan, the Little Yueh-chih were induced to return to their original locality.

It is now customary to attribute nearly everything in Central Asia during this period to the Yueh-chih; but it is very uncertain whether they ever reached Ssüch'uan. The migration of the Lolo during historic times has been northward, and if the Yeh-lang were ancestors of the Lolo, they were already established at the time the Yueh-chih began to migrate.

Buxton's theory<sup>149</sup> is based on Ting's measurements and on information supplied by Jamieson. The latter holds that the Lolo came from the Tibetan-Burman border, on the ground that they are the only people of southwestern China frequently associated

<sup>146</sup> The Paong Moi, Kha, and other Mon Khmer speaking peoples of Southeast Asia show a strong dolicocephalic factor. Cf. Dixon, *op cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>147</sup> For a recent discussion of this point, see Sten Konow, "Kharoshthi Inscriptions," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 2, Pt. I, 1929, pp. xlix-lxxxii.

<sup>148</sup> *Ch'ien Han shu*, chuan 95, translated by A. Wylie, *Jour. of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9, 1880, pp. 53-96.

<sup>149</sup> Buxton, *The Peoples of Ana*, pp. 156-57.

with the horse<sup>150</sup> Therefore Buxton connects the Lolo with his Nesiot race, corresponding to Elliot SMITH's Brown race, a group reaching across to Western Asia and the Mediterranean This theory differs from that of Ting in that the connection is southward around the Himalaya foothills Although Legendre's measurements are more important than Ting's, neither Ting nor Buxton seem to have considered them, and Buxton does not appear to be familiar with the historical facts of the situation

The traditions of the Lolo point to their origin on the Tibetan Burman border When they first came in contact with the Chinese, they were in northeastern Yunnan An interesting report has come from this district In the Chao tung area are many earthen mounds, conspicuous on the plain "Some of these have been opened, and in them have been found rough, unhewn stones, apparently placed as door frames, and burned bricks of an unusually large size and marked with a peculiar pattern"<sup>151</sup> It is too early to speculate whether this has any bearing on Lolo origins The Lolo of this area have a tradition that the mounds represent a pre Lolo population, the P'u, whom the Lolo destroyed

Lolo traditions indicate that they are not autochthonous to the Ta liang mountains They regard themselves as deprived of the rich valleys by the Chinese,<sup>152</sup> and their retreat to the mountains continued as late as 1727 While traditions cannot be taken too seriously, it seems safe to say that the Lolo were not the original inhabitants of their present locality

The division of black and white may have some bearing on the problem The use of the term black to indicate superior descent existed among the peoples of northeastern Asia The Western Lao kingdom founded by Yeh lu Ta shih called itself Black Kitan, indicating that the people were the original Kitan The Mongols were at first divided into black and white, Genghiz Khan, along with his generals and ministers, belonging to the

<sup>150</sup> JAMESON The Aborigines of Western China *China Journal of Art and Science* 1 p 331

<sup>151</sup> C C HICKS "The Nou Su" *Chinese Recorder* 41 p 211

<sup>152</sup> F C BABER Travels and Researches in the Interior of China *Royal Geographic Society Supplementary Papers* I p 121 D OLLONE *op cit* p 107

Black Mongols<sup>153</sup> This would indicate connections with northern culture The use of felt by the Lolo, and the ghost cult of the ancient Ts'uan point in the same direction No suggestions can be made about the practice of cremation It cannot be attributed to Buddhist or Hindu influence, and the use of fire in apotropaic rites is widespread

The lack of pottery points toward the north, for there have been few historic peoples who lacked pottery, and among these are the Mongols It is significant that pottery is not found among the Lolo, since they are surrounded by pottery using peoples

On the other hand, the Lolo, like the Chinese, are not milk-users The peoples of Asia may be divided into two groups, each occupying contiguous territories, the milk users, and those who do not use milk To the milk using group belong the peoples of northwestern Asia, the Tungus, Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, Hindus, Iranians, the peoples of the Near East, and some of the Paleo Asiatics The Chinese, Japanese, Shan, Lolo, and most of the Mon Khmer peoples do not use milk Under such circumstances, the non use of milk by the Lolo cannot be accidental They possess herds but do not milk them Had the Lolo originally been a pastoral people, it is very unlikely that such an important cultural trait would have been lost<sup>154</sup> Chinese influence can hardly be considered in this connection, and the Lolo generally are unsympathetic to external influences

There are other traits that point to the south, such as the practice of going barefoot, the use of poison arrows, and the Lolo "horn" On the other hand, the cross bow, which is a typical weapon in southeastern Asia, is not found among the Lolo

This discussion leaves the conclusion uncertain Some facts point in one direction, some in another The existing theories are based upon one of these sets of facts only When the complexity of the ethnic situation in southeastern Asia is considered, as well as the lack of investigations made by trained observers, it is apparent that a great deal of work must be done before accurate classifications can be made

<sup>153</sup> [omitted]

<sup>154</sup> The Yakut still retain cattle under most unfavorable circumstances JOCHELSON, *op cit* pp 257 71



## NOTES DE MYTHOLOGIE BOUDDHIQUE

### 2. LES RGYUD SUM-PA MANUSCRITS DE TOUEN-HOUANG

M. LALOU

Parmi les manuscrits tibétains rapportés de Touen-houang par M. Pelliot et conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris se trouvent plusieurs exemplaires de deux textes dont l'étude ne peut être menée séparément. Ce sont des ouvrages que le Kanjur reproduit l'un après l'autre, mais avec des titres modifiés et munis chacun d'une rallonge.

Les deux textes de Touen-houang portent comme titre l'un: *Rgyud sum-pa*, qui est répété au colophon final;<sup>1</sup> l'autre: *Lha klu chen-po-rnams spyān-dran-pa* que le colophon abrège en *Spyān-dran-pa*.<sup>2</sup> Dans le Kanjur,<sup>3</sup> le premier texte a pour titre initial *Spyān-'dren rgyud gsum-pa* et pour titre final *Rgyud gsum-pa*; le second n'a pas de titre initial et le colophon le nomme, comme le premier, *Rgyud gsum-pa*.

Le *Rgyud sum-pa* de Touen-houang se compose, pour les quatre cinquièmes, d'une liste mythologique où les noms bien connus du panthéon hindouiste sont mêlés à ceux des divinités que le bouddhisme a plus particulièrement adoptées. Cette liste est indienne: en majorité les noms peuvent être aisément restitués en sanskrit et, par endroits, elle suit de très près la série de dieux et de génies du *Mahāsamaya*, de l'*Ātānāṭiya* et de la *Mahāmāyūrī* dont une étude récente montre l'archaïsme.<sup>4</sup> Cependant, il apparaît à la fin de la liste quelques éléments étrangers.<sup>5</sup>

On observera que, dans la rédaction de ce texte, rien n'empêche de disjoindre la liste mythologique de la prière qui l'encadre; on peut parfaitement raccrocher à l'imploration qui suit cette liste les invocations qui la précèdent.

D'autre part, la rallonge du Kanjur débute par un appel

<sup>1</sup> nos 257, 0134, cf 0155, 0259, 0455

<sup>2</sup> nos 7[1], 4[9], 53, 382, 0719, cf 38, 0771

<sup>3</sup> *Rgyud*, éd de Pekin, vol 25, f 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf *Notes de mythologie bouddhique*, 1

<sup>5</sup> Cf notes 18 et 20 de la trad

imperieux et précis aux Jinaputra "Hôla! Jinaputra! Ecoutez ici! Moi et tous les êtres agissons pour le *parinirvana* (*yons su myan-nan las 'das-par bgyis la*) " Rien que par ce début on sent l'absence d'homogénéité de la rallonge fournie par la version canonique, d'autant mieux que la partie commune aux manuscrits de Touen houang et au Kanjur est entièrement scandée en vers de neuf pieds tandis que cet appendice est en prose

Il semble qu'on peut reconnaître dans ce court texte deux états des croyances 1° le "Seigneur souverain de la Terre et du Ciel" (Amitabha?) est prie d'accueillir finalement le dévot dans le "Jardin de la Joie divine" (Sukhāvati?), 2° ce but n'est qu'une étape en vue de l'obtention du *parinirvana*

Le *Lha klu chen-po rnam spyan dran-pa* débute abruptement par une liste abrégée des puissances divines priées de protéger particulièrement la Parole du Jina parfait. C'est en somme une sorte de *raksa* qui appelle dieux et génies au secours du bouddhisme

Le texte de Touen houang est scandé en vers de 9 pieds, de même la courte rallonge du Kanjur qui, cette fois, n'est pas incohérente

J'ai signalé plus haut que les titres des deux ouvrages sont modifiés par la version canonique. Les textes sont parfaitement différenciés dans les manuscrits de Touen houang. *Rgyud sum-pa* ne peut être confondu avec *Lha klu chen-po-rnam spyan dran-pa*. On peut les prendre l'un pour l'autre dans le Kanjur puisqu'ils portent tous deux le titre final de *Rgyud gsum-pa*. Il est assez curieux de noter que l'expression *spyan 'dren*, qu'ajoute le Kanjur au titre initial de l'un des textes, est précisément l'élément qui caractérise le titre de l'autre texte dans les manuscrits de Touen houang. Ceci peut s'expliquer par l'existence de versions mal fixées, telles que ms 38, où le début du *Lha klu chen-po* est le même morceau qui précède la longue liste mythologique dans le *Rgyud sum-pa*, le ms 0771 qui débute *Rgyud gsum-pa lha klu la sogs-pa spyan dran-pa // chans-pa brgya byin*, le ms 97, qui débute, sans titre, après les deux derniers vers du *Rgyud sum-pa* termine sans colophon, et qui porte *Rgyud gsum-pa rjogs so*

## RGYUD SUM-PA

1. rgyud sum-pa <sup>1</sup> // hla-ma'i hla-ma hla-myed dkon-mčhog gsum  
// che-ba'i che mčhog dban mčhog dam-pa-la // gus-par phyag
3. chal dan bas skyabs-su mčhi // gnam sa'i <sup>2</sup> mna' hdag skyes-  
dgu'i lon-spyod gzi // ston <sup>3</sup> pa dam-pa čhos-kyi mgon mjad-
5. pa // chans-pa brgya-byin rgyal-čben yul-'khor srin // 'phags-  
skyes dmyig-myi bzan dan lus-nan-po // 'jig-rten-skön <sup>4</sup> bži
7. dban-po mye <sup>5</sup>-lha dan // gcin-rje dben-bral čhu-lha rlun-gi-  
lha // rnam-thos-bu dan dhan-ldan <sup>6</sup> sa'i-lha // ŋi zla' gza'
9. skar pbyogs kyī glan-po-rnams // blon-po sde-dpon lha-mo  
phyogs-mchams <sup>7</sup>-srin // bcun-mo sras bčas so-so' i 'khor kun
11. dan // lba'i sde dpon čben-por mchan grags-pa // khyab-'jug  
chogs-hdag nan-ti kar-ti-ka // nag-po čhen-po stobs-čben stobs
13. po čhe // gnod-'jin <sup>8</sup> pad-ma pad-ma čhen-po dan // dun dan <sup>9</sup>  
dun-čben gan-po čin-tu gan // mgrin-hzan <sup>10</sup> gan-ha-hzan-po
15. nor-bu-hzan // hum-rna <sup>11</sup> dril-rna rna-gsum rna-ho-čhe // yan-  
dag čes dan yan-dag rgyal-ha dan // rgyal-ha'i-khyu-mčhog
17. 'brog-gnas gans <sup>12</sup>-la-gnas // bde-ri lna-čhen <sup>13</sup> lna-len chigs <sup>14</sup> lna  
ser // mgrin hču rnam-'jigs 'brug-sgra <sup>15</sup> nam-ka'i-dhyans // ston
19. gsum rgya-mčho <sup>16</sup> dga'-ho bsñen-dga'-ho // ma-drosgzi-čan nor-  
rgyas gdon-la-'jebz // dran-sron rig <sup>17</sup>-'jin čhar sprin lo-tog-lha //

<sup>1</sup> Texte édité suivant les lectures fournies par les manuscrits Pelhot tibétain n° 257, 0134, 0135 0259, 0455 comparées aux leçons du Kanjur

Ms 0455 débute par une phrase d'hommage au lieu de *rgyud sum-pa*, K *spyan-dren rgyud gsum pa*

<sup>2</sup> Ms 0134 *gnas sa'i*, 0455 *snam-sa'i*

<sup>3</sup> J'adopte la leçon *ston-pa* que donnent les mss 38, 0135, au lieu de *bstan-pa* des autres mss et du K

<sup>4</sup> Fin du ms 0135 K omet *bzi*

<sup>5</sup> Ms 0134 *mys la*

<sup>6</sup> Mss 0134 et 0455 *čams*

<sup>7</sup> Mss 257, 0455 et K *dban bdag*

<sup>8</sup> Ms 0134 *gnon*, 0455 *gdon*

<sup>9</sup> Ms 0134 et 257 *gñis zla*

<sup>10</sup> Ms 0455 *dun čan*

<sup>11</sup> Début du ms 0259 Sur les 3 *brān* de ce vers, le ms 0134 écrit deux fois *brān*, comme 0455

<sup>12</sup> Ms 0455 *bum rnam*

<sup>13</sup> Les mss omettent *gans*

<sup>14</sup> Ms 0455 *čhig*

<sup>15</sup> Ms 0455 *lna rcān*, K *lnas rcān*

<sup>16</sup> Ms 0455 *'brog sgra*

<sup>17</sup> Mss *rgyam-mčho* Cf l'orthographe du ms 0259 qui note la liaison en répétant soit la consonne précédente, soit la consonne suivante, par ex *glag gzan* pour *gza-gzan*, *gus-spa* pour *gus-pa*

<sup>18</sup> Mss *rigs-jin*, dans les documents tibétains de Touen houang que j'ai lus la confusion est constante entre *rig* et *rgs*

21. lam lha ñin-mcbandusmchams<sup>18</sup> chesgrans<sup>20</sup> yud//ha-nu-man-ta la sogs mthu-čben dan//chig-dban<sup>21</sup> lha-mo sgra-dbyans<sup>22</sup>
23. dbyans čan dan//be'u-'dra-dpał-kyi lha-mo 'od-zer čan//dkar čam brjod-skyob gan-gā ya-mu-na//sras-'phan dun čan
25. ri mkhar nag mo dan//ma bdun srin-mo bdun dan srin-mo bzi//nag-mo čhen-mo ral pa gčig las-bsogs<sup>23</sup>//lha-mo čhen-
27. mo gnod-sbyin čhen-mo dan//srin-mo čben-mo ča-za čhen-mo dan//gžon nu'i sku<sup>24</sup> 'cho rju<sup>25</sup>-'phrul dban-gyis 'phags//slag
29. čhe brjid<sup>26</sup>-pas lha dmag gyul-du bstod//rmad grags čhen-mo dge-bsñen čben-mo dan//lha sras gžon-nu klu sras gzon-
31. nu dan//rig-'jun gžon-nu dran-sron gžon-nu dan//byig-čus bsten-pa'i gžon-nu lna brgya spun//gnod-sbyin gžon-nu ta-ri-
33. ka<sup>27</sup> la-sogs//gzi brjid čhen-po'i gžon sde tbams-čad dan//skye-dgu'i bdag-po las-bsogs lha dan klu//gnod-sbyin dri-za'
35. lto-pbye lha-ma-yin//gser-mdab grul-bum srin-mo myi-'am-či<sup>28</sup>//'byun-po ča-za yul-bdag 'dre las-bsogs//čan-čes sñin-rje
37. lam-du žugs dgu dan//rig-pa'i lcags-kyus zin-pa kun gson čig//gan-gi<sup>29</sup> myin-la bkra-čis<sup>30</sup> dpał 'har-ba//yi-ge gñis
39. 'hrel dkon-mčhog gsum-gi mchan//sans-rgyas čhos dan dge-'dun žes-pa'i sgra<sup>31</sup>//skyes-bu gan-žig ñantam<sup>32</sup> 'dod pa yan//
41. gža-gsan yun-či srid-du thob 'gyur<sup>33</sup> na//yon-tan phun-sum dpag-yas dkon-mčhog-la//bsñen-bkur mñes byed bka'-la gus-

<sup>18</sup> Ms 0134 *dus mchan*, element omis par ms 0259

<sup>20</sup> Ms 0259 et K *che grans*

<sup>21</sup> Ms 0455 *chag dban lha-mo sgra dbyans dban čen dan*

<sup>22</sup> Ms 0134 *dgra dbyans*, ms 257 *sbyans*

<sup>23</sup> Ms 0455 est complètement corrompu il donne pour les trois vers qui precedent *sras-'phan doñ-čan ri-mkhor ma-bdun srin-mo bdun dan srin-mo dan za nag mo čhen-mo ral pa gčig las sogs*

<sup>24</sup> Ms 0455 *gzu-nu'i skyu 'cho 'rjun-'phrul dban-gi phags* Le ms non termine, s'acheve sur ce vers

<sup>25</sup> Ms 257 *rjun-'phrul*

<sup>26</sup> Ms 0134 *brjnd-pas*

<sup>27</sup> Ms 257 *ti-ra ka*

<sup>28</sup> Ce vers a été maltraité par le ms 257 qui repete *bum* et ajoute *la-sogs* apres *myi-'am-či*, écrit *gser 'dab*

<sup>29</sup> Ms 0134 *gan gin*

<sup>30</sup> Ms 257 *dkra-čis*

<sup>31</sup> Ce vers manque entierement au K

<sup>32</sup> Ms 0134 *tham*, les autres mss et K ont *tam* que je prends comme equivalent de *cam*

<sup>33</sup> Vers corrompu dans les mss et le K Ms 0134 *gza-gsan yun-gi čhu-srin thob 'gyur na*, mss 257, 0259 et K *'yun-gi čhu srid*, mais "monstre aquatique" (*čhu-srin*) et "royauté aquatique" (*čhu-srid*) sont aussi peu satisfaisants l'un que l'autre, je corrige *'yun čis srid-du* "au bout de combien de temps?"

43. pa dan//čhos thos ñams-su len-ba či žig smos//de-bas gsuñ-  
rabs dpag bsams rgyas-pa' yī//lha'i lon-spyod 'chal-du kun  
45. gcegs te//čbos-rje űi-ma thams-čad mkhyen-pa'i bka'//bdud  
sde lha-myin gyul-las rgyal byed-pa<sup>24</sup>//rin-čen 'od-mčhog  
47. lha-dban gcug-gyī rgyan<sup>25</sup>//bag-yod dad<sup>26</sup>-pa'i spyi-bos  
blan-bar mjad //§§§§//rgyud sum-pa rjogs-so//

### TRADUCTION DU RGYUD SUM-PA

Je prends refuge avec dévotion après avoir salué respectueusement l'Insurpassable, le Maître des Maîtres, les Trois Joyaux, le Grand des Grands, le Chef suprême, le Saint suprême.

Seigneur souverain de la Terre et du Ciel<sup>1</sup>

Lieu de la joie pour toutes les créatures<sup>1</sup>

Saint Maître qui rendez Maître de la Loi<sup>1</sup>

Brabmā, Śatakratu, les Mahārāja Dbṛtarāstra, Virūdhaka, Virūpakṣa, Kubera, les quatre Lokapāla, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti<sup>1</sup> Varuna, Vayu, Vaisravana, Īsāna, Déesse de la Terre,<sup>2</sup> Sūrya, Soma, Planètes, Constellations, Eléphants<sup>3</sup> des régions, Ministres, Chefs, Déeses, Protecteurs des régions<sup>4</sup> avec épouses, fils et ceux

<sup>24</sup> Ms 0259 *dgra las rgyal bye-ba*

<sup>25</sup> Ms 0259 *rgyand*

<sup>26</sup> Ms 0259 *dan ba'i*

<sup>1</sup> Cf *Mahāvīyutpatti* 3156 qui donne la forme Nairṛti. Mais nous avons ici la série bien connue des 8 *dīkpalaka* Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, etc il n'y a donc aucune raison de restituer Nairṛti. Cf ms 0817, qui est un fragment sur les 8 *dīkpalaka*, où ce nom est transcrit Ni ri di.

<sup>2</sup> Je lis *sa'i lha-mo* au lieu de *sa'i lha*. Dans *Ratnadharani* *Mdo-man* 83, à la requête de Sa'i lha-mo le Buddha révèle la "dharani des joyaux" qui invoque Vaisravana. Ici, Sa'i lha[mo] n'est séparée du Grand Roi que par Īsāna. Il est probable que Sa'i lha-mo est une forme de Śrī devī, pareille de Vaisravana (cf F. W. THOMAS *Lā'i gyul lun betan pa*, dans *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, p. 81 et A. WALEY, *Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang*, p. 41, 56) et que le couple Vaisravana Śrīdevī / Sa'i lha mo, est l'équivalent du couple Jambhala-Vasudhara (Nor rgyu ma), dont les images inscrites ornent 1 f du *Mdo-man* ms conserve à la Bibl. Nationale (*Catalogue* *Mdo-man*, p. 5). Vaisravana alias Kubera et Jambhala alias Kubera ont pour compagne 1 un Śrīdevī, associée aux joyaux à Touen houang à qui est révélée la *Ratnadharani*, l'autre Vasudharā, "Celle qui porte les richesses," la Terre (Sa'i lha-mo), qui est représentée tenant d'une main une corbeille de joyaux et de l'autre un épi mûr.

<sup>3</sup> Lire *glan-po* (éche)

<sup>4</sup> Dans la littérature brahmanique, la liste des 8 *dīkpalaka* comprend les 8 dieux énumérés ici plus haut Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuna, Vayu, Kubera (Vaisravana),

de leur entourage dont le nom est bien connu parmi les grands Chefs divins: Viṣṇu, Ganapati, Nandin, Kārttikeya, Mahākāla, Mahāhāla à la grande force, Jambhala, Padma, Mahāpadma, Śaṅkha, Mahāśaṅkha, Pūrṇa, Très-plein (\*Atipūrṇa), Sugrīva, Purnabhadra, Manihhadra, Kumhhakarna, Ganthakarna, Trīkarna, Mahākarna, Complètement-Savant (Samjñin), Complètement-Vainqueur (Samjaya),<sup>7</sup> Jinarsabha, Atavī, Haimavata, Śamagiri,<sup>8</sup> Mahāpañca, Pañcala, Pañcālaganda,<sup>9</sup> Daśagrīva, Bhīṣana,<sup>10</sup> Nuage-Son (\*Meghasvara), Espace-Bruit (\*Ākāśaghoṣa), Trīśiṣka,<sup>11</sup> Sāgara, Nanda, Upananda, Anavatapta, Śrīmat,<sup>12</sup> Vāsuki, Démon-Beau, Rṣi, Vidyādhara, Varsa,<sup>13</sup> Megha, Śasyadeva, Mārgadeva, *ahorātra*, *sandhyā*, *tithi*, *ganaka*, Hanumat, etc au grand pouvoir. Déesses Vāgīśvarī, Sgra-dhyans (Nirghoṣā), Sarasvatī, déesses Śrīvatsa et Mārīcī, Blanc-Vêtement<sup>14</sup> (Pāndaravāsini?), Discours-Protéger, Gangā, Yamunā, Enfant-Détruire (Śiśumārā? - Hārītī?), Śaṅkhinī,<sup>15</sup> Montagne-? (Pārvatī?), Kālī,

Īśāna Parfois, Nirrti et Īśana sont remplacés par Sūrya et Soma. D'autres listes donnent Surya, Soma et les 6 planètes (cf *Manu*, V, 96, VII, 3, trad S LÉVI, *Deva putra*, JA, Jan-Mars 1934, p. 9)

<sup>7</sup> F W THOMAS dans *Tibetan Literary Texts*, p. 20, n. 1, suggère d'après une forme tibétaine donnée par le *Le-yul gyi lo rgyus* que Samjaya et Samjñin peuvent désigner le même *yakṣa*, le nommé Seng-eul ye (Samjaya) du *Suryagarbha*, mais ici nous avons "Complètement Savant et Complètement-Vainqueur" c'est à-dire Samjaya et Samjñin

<sup>8</sup> Bde-ri "Heureuse-Montagne" doit être le même personnage appelé dans les listes de génies du *Mahāsamaja* R-mñam "Montagne-semblable" = Samagiri. Cf *Notes de mythologie bouddhique*, I, p. 43

<sup>9</sup> Cf *Notes de mythologie bouddhique*, I, p. 43, n. 10

<sup>10</sup> Rnam 'jigs = Viṣaḍa qui est probablement le même que Bhīṣana, nommé par le *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* après Pañcika et Pingala. Dans le *Rāmāyana* tibétain (cf JA oct-déc 1936 p. 560), le nom du frère de Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa) est transcrit Bi ri na-ša (ms A) et Či ri śa na (ms E)

<sup>11</sup> Dans *Mahāmegha skt*, ed BENDALL, JRAS, 1880, p. 303, Trīśiṣka est le *nagarāja* qui préside à l'Est d'un *mandala*

<sup>12</sup> Nom d'un des Iers *nāgarāja* dans *Mahāmāyūrī*, éd Oldenbourg, p. 246, l. 20

<sup>13</sup> Ou Varṣa megha? Rien n'indique qu'il faille réunir ou séparer les deux mots

<sup>14</sup> Je lis *ṣam* [gos], équivalent de *ṣam thabs* "sorte de vêtement" Cf ms 080 ou un rituel décrit Vairocana entoure des 4 *yum* Locanā, Mamakī, Bza'-dkar "Epouse-Blanche" (qui tient la place de Pāndaravāsini) et Tarā. Seule la notion de blancheur est stable dans la forme de ce nom

<sup>15</sup> Nom d'une *mahārakṣasī* précisément de la série de Hārītī, dans *Mahāmāyūrī*, ed p. 241, l. 13

Sept Mères, Sept Rāksasī et Quatre Sœurs,<sup>16</sup> Mahākālī, Ekajatā etc., Mahādevī, Mahāyaksī, Mahārāksasī, Mahāpiśācī, [Celle] qui [donne] vie au corps du Kumāra; [Celle] qui apparaît par son pouvoir magique;<sup>17</sup> [Celle] qui fixe dans la bataille l'armée divine par la splendeur de sa grande robe;<sup>18</sup> Grande Dignitaire bien connue, Grande Upāsikā,<sup>19</sup> *devakumāra*, *nāgakumāra*, *vidyā-dharakumāra*, *ṛsikumāra*, *bhikṣu-samniśrita-kumāra*,<sup>20</sup> Confrérie des Cinq cents, *yaksakumāra*, Tārīka, etc. et toutes les armées de *kumāra* à la grande splendeur, Prajāpati, etc., *deva* et *nāga*, *yakṣa*, *gandharva*, *mahoraga*, *asura*, *garuda*, *kumbhānda*, *rāksasī*, *kinnara*, *bhūta*, *piśāca*, démon maître de la contrée, etc.!

Celui qui est bon, qui est entré et est fixé dans le chemin de la compassion, préservez-le<sup>21</sup> complètement de l'atteinte du croc de la magie!

A son nom, quel qu'il soit, accordez prospérité, fortune! renommée!

<sup>16</sup> Dans *Tarāmulakalpa*, f 206<sup>b</sup> et 210<sup>a</sup> (cf *IJJAS*, I, 3-4, Nov 1936, p 346) des rites magiques sont enseignés par les Mères, les Yakṣa, les Sœurs, etc. L'alternance *yakṣa* / *rāksasa* n'est pas surprenante et la série féminine que nous trouvons ici paraît plus cohérente.

<sup>17</sup> Ces épithètes viennent entre deux énumérations de personnages féminins, on est donc tenté de garder une série féminine.

<sup>18</sup> Il est probable que c'est Devī dont la splendeur de la grande robe est évoquée. Une peinture de Touen houang (Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Pelliot tibétain n° 0820) représente Vajravāna ayant à sa droite la déesse vetiva précisément d'une très longue robe. Ceci rappelle les légendes d'Asie Centrale relatives à Vajravāna (cf A. WALEY, *op cit.*, p 413 qui cite *Trip Taisho*, supplément, III, 3, 266<sup>b</sup> *Rituel pour le culte de Vajravāna* "En 742, la ville de An hsi est assiégée par l'Arabe K'ang Wu kuo. L'empereur va trouver le maître du Dhyana I-hsing et lui demande secours car il ne peut défendre la ville. Le religieux répond de demander à Vajravāna, le régent du Nord, de rompre le siège de la ville. Rites pour appeler Vajravāna, instantanément apparaissent des centaines de soldats").

<sup>19</sup> *ṛmad grags* et *dge bñen* sont au masculin dans le *Kanjur*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf ms Pelliot tibétain n° 226, intitulé '*phrul-gyi byigs gus phyi ma-la bstan-pa'i mdo* et *ibid* n° 065 '*phrul-gyi dge slon gus bñad pa*. Ces "bhikṣu magiques" ou "de transformation" sont sans doute à rapprocher des "Buddha de transformation" du manichéisme (cf PELLIOU et CHAVANNES, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, p 572 [Bibl Boud IV V, n° 27], et des "Buddha et Bodhisattva magiques" cités par P. PELLIOU, *Notes sur quelques artistes des Six Dynasties*, p 270, n 1 [Bibl Boud IV-V, n° 73]).

<sup>21</sup> On a volontairement supprimé les points d'exclamation qu'appelle, après chaque nom de la liste mythologique, l'impératif de ce verbe.

Connexion des Deux Syllabes!<sup>24</sup> Nom des Trois Joyaux! Voix qui prononcez Buddha, Dharma, Samgha!

Quelle que soit la créature qui n'a pour but que l'audition de la Loi et qui—au bout de combien de temps!—a obtenu cette grâce; qui est pleine de respect pour la Parole, de vénération et d'adoration pour les Trois Joyaux [qui sont une] masse de vertus sans mesure, quel que soit celui qui entend et qui retient la Loi dans son esprit, celui-là lorsqu'il est parvenu dans le Jardin de la Joie divine, après avoir souhaité les exposés religieux développés, O Soleil de l'Exorciste!<sup>25</sup> Parole de l'Omniscient! Qui rendez vainqueur dans la bataille contre les Asuras et l'armée de Māra! Joyau! Lumière suprême! Chef divin! Ornement de tête! daignez recevoir "avec la tête," [celui] qui est pieusement vigilant (apramāda) et sincère.

#### LHA KLU ČHEN-PO-RNAMS SPYAN-DRAN-PA

Lha klu čhen-po-rnams spyan-dran-pa<sup>1</sup>//cbans-pa hrgya-hyin rgyal-čen lha dan klu//gnod-sbyin dri-za lto-phye<sup>2</sup> lha-ma-yin //gser mdah grul-hum myi-'am-či<sup>3</sup> la-sogs//sems-čan-gan-rnams bde-gcegs sras-rnams dan//nor hdun phun-sum dpal hzed<sup>4</sup> kun gson-čig//sans-rgyas bcom-ldan yon-tan hsam myi khyah//dampa'i čhos-kyi yon-tan hsam myi khyah//phags-pa'i dge-'dun yon-tan hsam myi khyah//dkon-mčhog hsam myi khyah la mnon dad-pa'i//rnam-smayin hla-na-myed-pa' hsam myi khyah//hskal-pa hye-ha khrag-khrig 'grans-par<sup>5</sup> yan//dkon-mčhog mchan thos cam yan rñed dka'bas//brgya-las<sup>6</sup> lan čig khom-ldan lus rñed-

<sup>24</sup> Qui forment le nom des Trois Joyaux(?) Bud-dha, Dhar-ma, Sam gha

<sup>25</sup> L'expression čhos rje nag dkar "the black and white exorcists," citée par S C Das, justifie cette traduction

<sup>1</sup> Texte édité suivant les lectures fournies par les manuscrits Pelliot tibétain n° 4[9], 7[1], 38, 53, 97, 382, 0719, 0771 comparées aux leçons du Kanjur Le titre manque dans K et ms 97 Ms 0719 remplace čen-po-rnams par la-sogs-pa Tous mss rgyal-čen lha klu il manque un pied que K rétablit avec dan

<sup>2</sup> Tous mss lto-phye pour classique lto-'phye, K a 'phyed qui est fautif

<sup>3</sup> Mss, sauf 0719, ajoutent sm-po avant myi-'am-či ce qui décale le vers

<sup>4</sup> Mss 0719 et 382 donnent la forme classique bzad, sur les autres on lit gzad, K a une forme fautive bzad

<sup>5</sup> K bgran bar Le ms 4[9], commence ici

<sup>6</sup> Mss 382, 4[9] et K écrivent brgya lam, 0719 brgya la na



rnams//rju-'phrul dad-pa'i çugs-kyis 'dir gçegs-ste//rnam-par  
 grol-ba'i rin-çen sna-chogs gliñ'//zab-mo rgyal-ba'i bka' la kun  
 gson-çig// ཨོ ཨོ //spyang-dran-pa rjogs-so\*//.

# TRADUCTION DU LHA KLU ÇHEN-PO-RNAMS°

Appel aux grands *deva*, *nāga*, etc.—Brahmā, Indra, Mabārāja, *deva*, *nāga*, *yaksa*, *gandharva*, *mahoraga*, *asura*, *garuḍa kumbhānda*, *kinnara* protégez partout les créatures, les fils du Sugata, les sept Trésors, les trois Collections, la Parole sainte!

La pensée est incapable de pénétrer les vertus (*guna*) du Buddha Bhagavat.

La pensée est incapable de pénétrer les vertus de la Loi sainte.

La pensée est incapable de pénétrer les vertus du Samgha des Ārya.

La pensée, même lorsqu'on croit, est manifestement incapable de pénétrer [les vertus] des Trois Joyaux.

La pensée est incapable de pénétrer l'Insurpassabilité de la Perfection.

Si l'on compte les milliards de millions de *kalpa* [pendant lesquels] est rare rien que le fait d'entendre le nom des [Trois] Joyaux, [on voit qu'on n'obtient] les profits d'un corps possédant les capacités qu'une fois sur cent [naissances]. [C'est pourquoi] O Joyau de la Délivrance! venant ici-[bas] avec l'énergie de la foi et de la puissance magique, dans n'importe quel continent, préservez partout la Parole du Jina parfait!

\* Mss., sauf 382 et 4[0], écrivent *grin*

° Ms 8 *rgyud grum-pa rjogs-so*, au lieu de *spyang-dran-pa*.

## BUDDHICA

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### I. *LAṅKĀVATĀRA: DEŚANĀNAYA ET SIDDHĀNTANAYA*

Dans une "brief communication" du *JAOS* (57, 185), le Professeur F. EDGERTON reprend le problème de l'expression *samdhābhāṣya*. Il est amené à examiner la valeur du mot *samdhi* dans le titre de l'ouvrage bouddhique *Samdhinirmocana*, et à critiquer les explications proposées par M. Etienne LAMOTTE, éditeur et traducteur de cet ouvrage, et par le Professeur WARE dans son compte-rendu <sup>1</sup> (*JAOS* 57, 122).

Le Professeur EDGERTON écrit ce qui suit: "Of the varied renderings in Tihetan and Chinese we may here ignore the meaning 'joint' (whence 'knot' according to LAMOTTE). It is one of the familiar meanings of Skt. *samdhi*, in both standard and Buddhist Skt., hut has no bearing on the passage we are considering. If as LAMOTTE and WARE inform us Chinese translators sometimes use it in the title of this Sūtra, this is due to a misunderstanding, tho a not unnatural one ('unloosening of knots' seems a natural interpretation of the title of such a work!). The mistake is the more pardonable since *nirmocana* is also used in a strange sense in this title. It can only mean 'expounding,' literally either 'releasing, letting loose' or 'putting forth, emitting.' Cf. *Lankāvatārasūtra* p. 5 line 5 (Ch. I, *gāthā* 10), where *deśanānayanirmuktam* (*Lankāvatārasūtram*) can certainly not mean 'which is not founded on any system of doctrine' (Suzuki), but rather 'sent forth or expounded in or by or according to sermons and rules (of conduct).'"

Je laisse à MM. LAMOTTE et WARE le soin de défendre leur interprétation de *samdhābhāṣya*, mais je voudrais attirer l'attention sur cette phrase du *Lankāvatāra*, car elle n'est pas sans im-

<sup>1</sup> *Samdhanirmocana* signifie "solution des difficultés." "unloosening of knots"; par ailleurs, ces noeuds ou difficultés étant les sens cachés (*abhisamdhi*) des textes, les indications dissimulées de l'auteur, *Samdhanirmocana* signifie "explication des mystères," traduction adoptée par E. LAMOTTE, jolie traduction mais imprecise

portance doctrinale La traduction de SUZUKI, dont l'aspect paradoxal etonne le critique, est somme toute exacte La *gatha* I 10 porte

*desananayanirmuktam pratyatmagatigocaram  
lankavatara sutram vai purvabuddhanuvarnitam*

C'est a dire "Le *Lankavatara*, degage de la methode de l'enseignement, du domaine de l'intellection individuelle " Le *Lankavatara* n'est pas un de ces livres, tels les Sutras de l'Ecriture a neuf membres (*Lanka* p 149) ou le Bouddha enseigne en termes precis et clairs (*desananaya*), la verite qu'il indique ne peut etre connue que par une intuition personnelle (*pratyatmagatigocara*)

Le Sutra, en effet, a plusieurs reprises, distingue et oppose le *desananaya*, preliminaire et inferieur (p 172), et le *siddhantanaya* (voir notamment 148, 172 et les references de SUZUKI dans *Studies in the Lankavatara*, 1930, Glossary, p 409 *desananayalahsana*, *desanapatha*, *desanapatharutabhūviva*) La valeur du mot *siddhanta* n'est pas facile a determiner Le mot signifie, comme on sait, "these, conclusion, doctrine" Le *tihetam grub pahimthah* n'est qu'une transcription Nous avons deux equivalents chinois *tsong* et *ts'u* 宗趣, qui signifie "these" et que SUZUKI traduit "self realisation" (traduction non litterale mais honne pour le sens), et aussi *che* 實 (*Taisho*, p 612, col 2 a la fin), qui donne "verite, realite" Le *siddhantavada* est en effet la these vraie, la doctrine Nous nous en tiendrons a cette glose

Le *siddhanta*, semble t il, s'oppose a la *desana*, enseignement, en tant qu'il est le but et la fin de la *desana*, et n'est pas l'objet d'un enseignement explicite (Voir cependant la stance p 172) Le *Lankavatara* est declare *desananayanirmukta*, degage de l'enseignement, parce que, d'apres l'Ecole, l'enseignement, mots et concepts, n'atteint pas directement, ne fait pas atteindre, n'etablit pas la "realite" (*siddhantapratyavasthananaya*) De même le doigt qui indique la lune n'atteint pas la lune Les gens des Vehicules inferieurs regardent le doigt, s'attachent a l'enseignement et a sa lettre (*desanapatharuta*) c'est s'interdire de voir la lune, la realite Celle-ci est vue par une intuition personnelle (*pratyatmagati*)

Le Bodhisattva enseigne à chacun la vérité qu'il est capable de supporter: c'est le *deśanānaya*, commandé par l'habileté dans les moyens (*Lanka*. p. 148) ; mais sa fin, son but (*svasiddhānta*) (p. 43) consiste dans une compréhension (*adhiḡama*) personnelle, étrangère aux mots et aux concepts, qui lui fait atteindre l'élément pur (*anāsrava dhātu*).

La distinction du *deśanādharmā*, le Dharma qui consiste dans l'enseignement, et de l'*adhiḡamadharma*, le Dharma qui consiste dans la compréhension, est familière au Petit Véhicule (*Abhidharmakośa*, vii, 91).

## II PSYCHOLOGIE DU MADHYĀNTA VIBHĀGA

Nous avons aujourd'hui en main tous les documents nécessaires à l'étude de cet important traité, ouvrage de MAITREYA-VASUBANDHU, commentaire de STHIRAMATI. D'une part, le premier chapitre publié par VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA et G. TUCCI (1932) et les deux volumes de S. YAMAGUCHI (1934, 1937) contenant, le premier le texte complet, le second avec des corrections et un remarquable index, la version tibétaine et les deux versions chinoises du *Bhāṣya*. Il faut noter aussi des remarques préliminaires de S. YAMAGUCHI (1932) et les conjectures tibétaines de E. OBERMILLER (*Indian Hist. Qu.*, 9, 1019). D'autre part, paraissant en même temps, les traductions, savamment "introduites" et commentées, du premier chapitre, le plus important, par un vétéran, Th. STCHENBATSKY, et par un débutant, D. L. FRIEDMAN (1936).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyaṭīkā* of STHIRAMATI, being a sub-commentary on VASUBANDHU's *Bhāṣya* on the *Madhyāntavibhāgarūtra* of MAITREYANĀTHA, Part I, ed. by V. BHATTACHARYA of the Vinayabharati, Santiniketan, and Giuseppe TUCCI, Calcutta Or Ser n° 24, 1932.—Preface, p. iii v, texte, p. 1-51, notes, p. 1-54.

STHIRAMATI, *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, Exposition systématique du Yogacaraviṃśatīpīka édition d'après un MS rapporté du Népal par S. LEVI et précédée de sa préface, par S. YAMAGUCHI, Prof. à l'Université Ōtani.—Tome I, Nagoya, 1934.—Preface japonaise p. 1-4, préface de S. LEVI p. 1 iv, avertissement, p. 1 iv, introduction, p. 1 xxvi, texte, p. 1-262, appendice, p. 263-272 (restitution de passages laissés en tibétain dans le texte), corrections, p. 273-277.—Tome II, 1937.—Preface japonaise, p. 1 v, version tibétaine avec en face les versions par PARAMEŚVARA et de HUIYUAN TSANG du *Bhāṣya* de VASUBANDHU, p. 1-133, index général, p. 1-126, errata, p. 127-147.—Voir *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 1 400, 5 272.

*Madhyānta-Vibhanga*, Discourse on discrimination between middle and extremes,

Nombreux et difficiles sont les problèmes que pose ce traité. On sait que STHIRAMATI occupe une place à part parmi les dix docteurs du Vijñānavāda (Vair Siddhi., passim). Man praposa, dans la présente note, est d'examiner si le *Madhyāntavibhāga* et son commentateur n'exposent pas, sur le mécanisme de la connaissance, des vues particulières.

D'après l'Ecale, la connaissance est tout intérieure. L'objet de la pensée n'est jamais extérieur à la pensée, comme dans le rêve: ce n'est qu'une image développée par la pensée. Mais il semble que la Trentaine, comme l'interprètent DHARMAPĀLA et HIUAN-TSANG, et le *Madhyāntavibhāga*, comme l'interprètent VASUBANDHU et STHIRAMATI, conçoivent l'intériorité de la connaissance de deux manières différentes. Au sens strict, qui est celui adapté par HIUAN-TSANG, une connaissance (*viññāna*), partie "vision" (*darśana*), ne connaît que la partie "image" (*nimitta*) qu'elle développe elle-même. Il n'y a pas de relations directes entre les diverses connaissances, visuelle etc. . . .

A—Il y a, comme on sait, huit *viññānas*: *ālayaviññāna*, connaissance réceptacle, *kliṣṭa manas*, esprit saillé, *manoviññāna*, connaissance mentale, *cakṣurviññāna*, connaissance visuelle etc. . . .

Chacun de ces *viññānas*, évolue ou se développe (*parinamati*) en deux "parties" (*bhāga*, *aṃśa*) en partie prenante (*grāhaka*) et en partie prise (*grāhya*), en vision (*darśana*) et en image (*nimitta*), en sujet (*ālambaka*) et en objet (*ālambana*).

L'idée de bleu ou perception de bleu (*nīlavijñapti*) atteint une image bleue développée par la connaissance visuelle. Cette image est intégrée à la dite connaissance et constitue son objet (*ālambana*) immédiat.—A la vérité, la perception de bleu a aussi un objet éloigné, à savoir une image bleue développée dans l'*ālayaviññāna*. Celui-ci, contient, non seulement les germes des autres connaissances, mais encore des images, les images du monde

ascribed to Bodhisattva MAITREYA and commented by VASUBANDHU and STHIRAMATI, translated from the Sanskrit by Th. STCHERBATSKY, *Bibl. Buddhica* 30, Moscou-Leningrad 1930.—Préface, p. i viii, traduction, p. 1-100, notes, p. 01-038

STHIRAMATI, *Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra*, *Analysys of the Middle Path and the Extremes*, par D. L. FRIEDMAN, these de doctorat de Leyde, 1930.—Préface; introduction, p. i xi, traduction, p. 1-86, notes, p. 87-143

extérieur notamment, bleu, montagnes etc. . . . Ces images sont, comme qui dirait, les "archétypes," *pen-tche* 本質 (*mūlaprakṛti?*), des images que développent les autres connaissances. L'*ālaya-vijñāna* exerce ici une action qui se nomme *adhipatipratyayatā*. Comme les autres connaissances, l'*ālayavijñāna* se scinde en "perception" (*vijñapti*) et image ou objet. Mais cette perception est "inconsciente" (*asamvidita*), et c'est là que git la faiblesse du système. Telles sont, en sommaire, les thèses de Hiuan-tsang.

B—Pour le *Madhyāntavibhāga*, les six dernières connaissances ne se développent pas en images (*nimitta*, objet, "pris"), mais seulement en perception (*vijñapti*, vision, "prenant"). Inversement les deux premières ne se développent qu'en images: "L'*ālaya-vijñāna* apparaît comme choses et comme êtres" (*arthasattva-pratibhāsa*); le *kliṣṭamanas* apparaît comme "je" (*ātmapratibhāsa*).<sup>3</sup> Le jeu de la pensée sera donc la perception, par les six connaissances de l'ancien Bouddhisme (connaissances mentale, visuelle, etc. . . .) des images ou objets fournis par les deux nouvelles connaissances.

Si on ne tient pas compte de la thèse d'un *kliṣṭamanas*<sup>4</sup> développé en "je," thèse qui ne va pas sans difficulté, nous avons ici la théorie du *Lankavatāra* (p.37): "La connaissance (*vijñāna*), qui est octuple, est en sommaire de deux sortes: connaissance de représentation, *khyāti vijñāna*,<sup>5</sup> hien che 現識, et connaissance qui distingue ou pense les objets *vastuprativikalpavijñāna*." La première est l'*ālayavijñāna* qui apparaît comme corps, objets de jouissance et monde réceptacle (*dehabhogapratīṣṭhābha*).

<sup>3</sup> *Madhyāntavibhāga*, kar. I 3, dit simplement que le *vijñāna* apparaît comme choses (*artha*), êtres (*sattva*), "je" (*ātman*), perception (*vijñapti*)

Le *Bhāṣya* de VASUBANDHU, après avoir défini les choses et les êtres (sans attribuer leur apparition à l'*ālayavijñāna*), dit que "l'esprit souille" (*kliṣṭa manas*) apparaît comme "je" et que les six autres *vijñānas* apparaissent comme perception

STHIRAMATI attribue à l'*ālayavijñāna* la manifestation des choses et des êtres, et confirme VASUBANDHU sur les autres points

<sup>4</sup> On observe que, d'après kar. I 9, le seul *ālayavijñāna* est *pratyayavijñāna*, *vijñāna* principe et cause des sept autres qui sont dit *aupabhogika*, "de jouissance" Donc "l'esprit souille" a l'expérience de l'objet (*alambanānubhavana*), on doit croire qu'il perçoit le "je"

<sup>5</sup> Comparer le *Śraddhotpāda* (trad. SUZUKI, Chicago, 1900, *Awakening of Faith*, p. 76)

## III VIJÑĀPTIMĀTRA

## 1. Cittamātra et vijñaptimātra.

A—La doctrine du *cittamātra*, “rien que pensée,” “pensée sans plus,” est la doctrine idéaliste. Enseignée par les anciens sūtras (*Daśabhūmaka*), elle fut perfectionnée et mise au point dans l'école Vijñānavādin. On dit aussi *vijñānamātra*, *vijñaptimātra*.<sup>4</sup> La connaissance ne résulte pas du concours de deux facteurs, un objet (*ālambana*) extérieur (*bāhya*) qui est connu, une pensée qui connaît ou qui reproduit l'objet (*Sautrāntika*). Elle est toute intérieure. L'objet n'est qu'une image (*nimitta*) que la pensée développe et contient.—Le jeu de la pensée et de ses hallucinations s'explique par deux théories. D'une part, la théorie des deux parties (*bhāga*, *aṃśa*): la pensée (*citta*, *vijñāna*) se scinde en une partie “prenante” (*grāhaka*), partie “vision” (*darśana*), qui est la “perception” (*vijñapti*), et en une partie prise (*grāhya*), partie “image” (*nimitta*), qui est l'objet immédiat de la perception. D'autre part, la théorie de l'*ālayavijñāna*, “connaissance réceptacle,” qui contient les germes des futures connaissances et est impressionnée (*vāsanā*) par les connaissances présentes.

B—Mais, au sens strict, *vijñaptimātra* signifie “perception sans plus” L'école admet une *vijñapti* exempte d'objet. Elle établit une perception, un “preneur” (*grāhaka*) qui n'a pas de “pris” (*grāhya*), de perçu. Cependant, diront le *Madhyāntavibhāga* et *STHIRAMATI*, en l'absence de perçu, comment y aura-t-il un percevant, une perception? L'ascète commence par se persuader de l'inexistence du “pris”; il aboutit nécessairement à nier et à ignorer le “preneur.” Quelques-uns se sont demandé si la pensée “pure,” exempte de vision (*darśana*) et d'image (*nimitta*), n'est pas la *tathatā* même ou “troisième nature”?

## 2. Les trois natures.

Un petit traité attribué à *VASUBANDHU* ou, par erreur à *NĀGĀRJUNA*, explique les trois natures par la comparaison de la

<sup>4</sup> La terminologie n'est pas strictement ordonnée, *cittamātra*, *vijñānamātra*, *vijñaptimātra* sont souvent interchangeables. *Siddhi*, p 717-719, l'expression *vijñaptimātra* s'entend “*vijñāna* sans plus, partie “vision” et partie “image” comprises. Ainsi doit s'entendre le titre de l'ouvrage de *VASUBANDHU* *HIGUAN-TSANG*.—Comparer *Siddhi*, p 576

magie.<sup>7</sup> Pour créer une magie, le magicien emploie quelque objet, motte de terre, morceau de bois, herbe,<sup>8</sup> et il y applique la force des formules. Le morceau de bois apparaît comme une image d'éléphant, image qui, pour les Indiens, existe réellement. Le magicien sait bien que cette image n'est pas un réel éléphant, mais le spectateur non-informé croit à un réel éléphant. Au morceau de bois correspond la *tathatā* ou *dharmatā*, "nature des *dharmas*," nature des choses ou des idées, puisque toutes les choses sont des idées. Elle est immobile, permanente, indifférenciée, unique, achevée ou absolue (*parinispāna*). Elle n'est pas séparée (*vyatirikta*) des choses sans qu'on puisse dire qu'elle est leur cause ou leur "matière" constitutive.

Chacun des êtres vivants, depuis l'éternité, est un flux varié de connaissances ou *viññānas* qui sont coulées dans le mode de la dualité, partie prenante et partie prise. Ces connaissances correspondent à l'image magique d'éléphant. Comme existe cette image que crée, à la faveur du morceau de bois, la force des formules, de même existent les pensées en dualité, visions et images créées par la connaissance-réceptacle avec son réservoir d'impressions. Mais l'existence de ces pensées est, en effet, l'existence d'une magie, une existence dépendante (*paratantra*) ou conditionnée, par conséquent momentanée et précaire. De même que, derrière l'éléphant magique, il n'y a que le morceau de bois et non pas un réel éléphant, de même dans la pensée en dualité, il n'y a pas un réel "preneur" et un réel "pris." Les réels preneurs et pris sont des entités imaginaires (*parikalpita*) comme le réel éléphant.

### 3. Le Chemin.

La pensée mondaine du sage est une pensée en dualité; mais le sage sait que cette dualité est d'ordre conditionné et secondaire (*paratantra*), comme le magicien, encore qu'il voie l'image de l'éléphant comme si elle était un vrai éléphant, sait que c'est une image magique. L'homme ordinaire croit qu'existent un substantiel preneur et un substantiel pris: c'est ce qu'on nomme

<sup>7</sup> *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2 147

<sup>8</sup> Ces objets sont le *bhrāntinimitta*, *Sūtralāmkāra*, II, 15



*dharmagrāha*, "admission des *dharmas*." Le sage s'élève au dessus de la pensée mondaine pure ou exacte qui a reconnu l'existence en réalité absolue du preneur et du pris. Il arrête de placer quoi que ce soit devant lui, fût-ce l'idée de "perception sans plus." Il se hausse au supramondain, et réside dans la "perception sans plus," "pensée sans objet." C'est le savoir (*jñāna*) intuitif ou ultra-conceptuel (*nirvikalpaka*) qui atteint ou se rend présente la nature même des choses ou de la pensée, la *dharmatā* ou *tathatā*. La pensée alors est, nous dit-on, parfaitement adéquate (*samasama*) à la *tathatā*, étant exempte de dualité.

Les docteurs ne sont pas d'accord sur le savoir ultra-conceptuel.\*

A—D'après *STHIRAMATI*, il ne comporte ni partie vision (*darśana*), ni partie image (*nimitta*), ni prenant (*grāhaka*), ni pris (*grāhya*).—Il atteint directement le *dharmadhātu*, la non-dualité, la *tathatā*, puisque les deux parties lui manquent. On a reconnu qu'il n'existe pas d'objet en dehors de la pensée; on reconnaît l'inexistence de la pensée sans plus, de la pensée sans objet. Dès lors on réside dans le *dharmadhātu*.

Ce système est étroitement apparenté, semble-t-il, à la théorie de la "droite contemplation" qu'on examinera dans la note suivante. Pour le *Madhyamaka*, comme pour *STHIRAMATI*, la droite contemplation suppose l'entière suppression de l'activité mentale: elle est *anupalabdhi*, non-perception, non-appréhension. On notera que *STHIRAMATI*, en fait, nie le savoir ultra-conceptuel, tout comme le *Mādhyamika* *Brāhāviveka* (*Joyau dans la main*): car comment, en l'absence de *darśana*, vision, y aurait-il *jñāna*, savoir?

B—D'après *NANDA*, il comporte vision et image. Donc il ne "réalise" pas immédiatement la *tathatā*; mais l'image qu'il se forme est absolument pareille à la *tathatā*.

C—D'après *DHARMAPĀLA*, il comporte vision mais non pas image. Quoiqu'il soit vision, il n'est pas conceptuel (*nirvikalpaka*); on ne peut pas dire qu'il soit "prenant" (*grāhaka*) car il ne prend pas une image; mais la prise, *grāhana*, ne lui manque pas absolument.—Il n'a pas d'image: mais il naît en adhérant, *tai 𑖦𑖳𑖦𑖱* à la *tathatā*, il n'est pas à part de la *tathatā*.

\* *Siddhi*, p. 586

En d'autres termes, ce savoir est supra-mondain, étant "perception sans plus." Il ne développe pas une image qu'il connaîtrait, et c'est la loi de toutes les pensées mondaines d'être vision et image, prenant et pris. N'ayant pas d'image ou de *grāhya*, pris, il ne peut être *grāhaka*, preneur. Mais, dit le texte, la prise ne lui manque pas absolument, car il est vision (*darśana*). Il prend comme objet (*ālambana*) la *tathatā* même; il voit la *tathatā*. C'est une vision inconsciente, car elle ne se prend pas elle-même; c'est une vision qui n'oppose pas un preneur (*grāhaka*) à un pris (*grāhya*); une vision qui ne voit aucune image, marque ou caractère de l'objet (*ālambana*). Le savoir ultra-conceptuel ne peut prendre ou voir la *tathatā* que par une parfaite adéquation avec elle.

#### 4. Vijñaptimātra et tathatā.

Le *vijñaptimātra* est pensée; la *tathatā* est la nature propre (*svabhāva*) de la pensée. De même, la *tathatā* est *sattā*, nature de ce qui est, *śūnyatā*, nature de ce qui est vide: elle n'est ni *sat*, être, ni *śūnya*, vide.

Le Grand Véhicule de Vijñānavāda enseigne que les "choses" (*dharma*) sont vides, c'est-à-dire qu'elles ne possèdent pas vraiment la nature que l'erreur leur attribue: le bleu est vide de la nature de bleu; la pensée est vide de la nature de pensée. Leur vraie nature, achevée ou absolue (*pariniṣpanna*), est la *tathatā*.<sup>10</sup> Ces deux natures sont d'ordre *paratantra*. La pensée ne s'unit, ne s'intègre à la *tathatā* qu'en perdant le caractère de pensée. C'est le stade qui suit le savoir intuitif (*nirvikalpaka jñāna*) auquel la pensée est *vijñaptimātra*.

La *tathatā* n'est pas *vijñapti*, pensée pure. Mais elle n'est pas à part des *vijñaptis* et celles-ci ne sont pas à part de la *tathatā*. Elle est la nature même des *vijñaptis*, sans être leur cause. On ne peut s'empêcher de penser à la "masse intelligente" (*prajñā-naghana*) dont parle la *Bṛhad*<sup>o</sup> (4, 5, 13): étrangère à la con-

<sup>10</sup> Il semble que les textes opposent quelquefois au *svabhāva*, *śing* 性, le *bhāva*, 有 (Siddhi, 112). Le *svabhāva* est, comme on dirait, transcendant et fait figure de réalité substantielle. Le *bhāva*, lequel est produit par les causes, qui est le *svabhāva* ou nature propre vulgaire, les qualités de bleu ou de pensée, est l'existence actuelle dans une certaine manière d'être, avec une certaine essence.

naissance (*viñāna*), laquelle exige la dualité, elle est la source ou la matière de toute connaissance<sup>11</sup>

#### IV MADHYAMAKA

##### 1 Pratityasamutpanna et Paratantra

Il y a deux problèmes, le problème du "relatif," les *dharma*s qui sont produits par des causes que le Bouddha lui-même, d'après une formule célèbre, a expliquées, le problème de "l'absolu" ou réalité, sur lequel il n'a laissé, dans les vieilles Écritures, que des indications vagues. D'après le *Madhyamaka*, le *pratityasamutpanna*, "ce qui est produit par les conditions," "ce qui est produit en dépendance," "dependently originated," c'est à dire le monde, l'existence, la transmigration (*samsara*), n'existe pas en vérité absolue n'existe qu'en vérité relative, n'existe que par relation. "Ceci étant, cela est, de la production de ceci, la production de cela." Aucune réelle nature propre (*svabhava*) de bleu, de feu, de sensation, etc., n'est en cause dans ce processus. Le jeu des conditions et des effets se poursuit. Quand on comprend ce jeu, quand on voit qu'il est exempt de toute chose existant en soi, on arrive à y mettre fin.

Le *pratityasamutpada*, production conditionnée, c'est la *sunyata*, vacuité, c'est la *madhyama pratipad*, chemin du milieu. Les choses sont vides de "nature propre" (*svabhava*) puisqu'elles existent par des causes qui elles-mêmes procèdent d'autres causes, et on ne voit pas comment une entité non vide pourrait naître de soi ou d'autres, ni comment elle pourrait périr. Par ailleurs, la doctrine de la production conditionnée exclut les deux extrêmes (*anta*) de la permanence et de la destruction (*śasvata, uccheda*), de l'identité et de la différence, de l'existence et de la non-existence (*bhava, abhava*) les choses conditionnées n'existent par elles-mêmes ou en elles-mêmes, mais elles ne sont pas sans exister à titre de causes et d'effets les choses vides engendrent des choses

<sup>11</sup> On trouvera dans *Saddhā* p. 109-113 nombre de références au système de la "pensée immaculée" aux écoles qui l'admettent et aux sutras (*Lankāvatara Sūtra*, *Viṃśatikā*, *Viṃśatikā*) qui l'enseignent. Hsüan-tsang condamne ce système. — Comparer *Sūtra* *Laṃkāra* 13-19.

vides, telle une succession de reflets. La production conditionnée est le chemin du milieu de la *samvrti* ou apparence.

Au *pratītyasamutpanna* du Madhyamaka correspond, dans l'école rivale, le *paratantra*, "dépendant d'autrui," "dépendant"; c'est le monde, l'existence. Les termes sont synonymes, mais la définition diffère. D'une part, car la matière n'existe pas d'après les Yogācāras, le *paratantra* est tout entier mental, les "pensées et les états mentaux des trois mondes" (*cittacaitta*), les "imaginations" (*parikalpa*). D'autre part, et c'est un point essentiel, à la différence du *pratītyasamutpanna*, le *paratantra* existe en vérité absolue. Il est vrai que je pense ou imagine moi et tu, bleu, *ātman*: l'objet posé ou créé par cette pensée est inexistant et on le dit "imaginaire" (*parikalpita*), mais la pensée imaginante, produite par des pensées aussi réelles qu'elle, existe réellement. Cette pensée en effet, qui apparaît sous le signe de la dualité, sujet et objet, a pour vraie nature (*svabhāva*) l'Absolu (ou *tathatā*) où quelques-uns voient une pensée transcendante; elle est comme l'Absolu, pensée, mais une pensée imaginante, encombrée des natures particulières et dualistes.

Ceci est encore une doctrine de vacuité et de milieu. La pensée imaginante est, métaphysiquement et en soi, vide de l'aspect dualiste qu'elle revêt en fait; mais nous ne nions pas la pensée imaginante vide de ce qu'elle ne contient pas, à savoir de la dualité. Quant à la *tathatā* (Absolu), elle existe absolument dans son immuable éternité: c'est éviter l'opinion de l'inexistence; elle n'existe pas dans le cadre de l'apparence ou *samvrti*: c'est éviter l'opinion de l'existence.

Le point controversé en Asie et en Europe et que nous examinerons ici, est si le Madhyamaka admet une Réalité, un *tattva*, un *paramārthasat*, un "existant absolument." Par ailleurs, même à penser qu'il admet la réalité, on peut douter qu'il admette quelque relation entre sa réalité et les phénomènes. Les phénomènes existent par eux-mêmes phénoménalement dans la relation causale. Au contraire, le Vijñānavada enseigne que les phénomènes cachent la réalité indicible et la travestissent, mais qu'ils dépendent d'elle. Les phénomènes sont la pensée éternelle victime de la magie de la dualité.

## 2 Paramarthasat ou tattva—Opinion de Th STCHERBATSKY

J'ai eu, avec Tb STCHERBATSKY, sur la pensée de NĀGĀRJUNA, une controverse qui a, par moments, tourne à la querelle. Comme il convient à des Bodhisattvas, nous sommes fraternellement reconciliés, mais le désaccord persiste chose curieuse, et qui prouve notre bonne foi et la difficulté du problème, il se fait que, aujourd'hui, j'occupe à peu près la position que tenait STCHERBATSKY, et que, inversement, STCHERBATSKY est très proche des thèses que je défendais. J'ai longtemps cru (divers articles de l'*Encyclopédie de HASTINGS*, *Nirvāna*, *Dogme et philosophie*) que le Madhyamaka était "nihiliste," niait l'Absolu, la chose en soi. Dans un mémoire "Madhyamaka" (*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2), je glisse vers une solution moins catégorique. Enfin, dans la présente note, je me dispose à admettre que le Madhyamaka reconnaît un Absolu. Pour Th STCHERBATSKY, qui pensait que le Madhyamaka ne nie l'apparence en vérité absolue, que pour affirmer l'Être, il a défini sa présente manière de voir dans ses "Drei Richtungen" et dans l'Introduction à sa *Traduction du Madhyantavibhaga*.

Le point essentiel qui oppose les deux écoles, Madhyamaka et Viśiṣṇavāda, est la conception de l'absolu. Tandis que les Viśiṣṇavādins admettent une réalité absolue, la conscience non différenciée, les Mādhyamikas nient la possibilité d'un absolu quelconque. Cette vérité du relativisme radical, selon l'expression de LA VALLEE POUSSIN, "vérité vraie sinon réalité vraie," est le seul principe qu'ils admettent. Ce principe que le saint réalise en transes mystiques, n'est qu'une idée dialectique qu'on ne doit pas considérer comme un *ens realissimum*, "die allumfassende Totalität" de SCHAYER.<sup>12</sup>

"The Madhyamikas<sup>13</sup> admit no exception from their principle of Universal Relativity, no *paramarthasat*, no Thing in Itself. They of course have a *paramarthasatya*, or Highest Principle, of their own, it consists just in the denial of the Thing in Itself,

<sup>12</sup> Die drei Richtungen in der Philosophie der Buddhismus. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*

10 1934 p. 1-37—Compte rendu de C. R. *Bibliographie bouddhique* 78 118

<sup>13</sup> *Madhyantavibhaga Bibl. Buddhica* 30 (1936) p. vi viii

the denial of every ultimate real Element in existence TSON KHA-PA, a good judge, says in his *Legs bsad sñin-po* that among all systems of philosophy, Buddhist as well as non Buddhist, there is only a single one which denies every kind of an ultimately Real, and this is the system of the Madhyamikas The Buddha, the Bodhisattva, Salvation and Nirvana are dialectical Ideas not realities As concepts they are constructions of our productive imagination, hence ultimately unreal, *bden-par med* ("faux"), as the Tibetan emphatically states For the Yogacara, [the eight varieties of sunyata] represent Relativity also, inasmuch as they are objects, but this Relativity has a subjacent Absolute Reality for the Madhyamikas it has none, for them it is mere *advaya* ("non dualite") without any *eka dravya* ("unite") at the bottom "

Th STCHERBATSKY poursuit "But this does not all mean that the Madhyamikas are nihilists They were accused of nihilism by the polemical fervour of the Yogacāras who imputed to them the principle *sarvam sarvena nasti* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*, pp 44 "Rien n'existe d'aucune façon") They however emphatically protested against that accusation Relativism is not Nihilism The Madhyamika philosophy is the doctrine officially professed by the Tibetan Church it would sound exceedingly strange if we should interpret the solemn and exuberant catholicism of that church as a disguised nihilism "14

On se demande si Th STCHERBATSKY ne voyait pas plus juste dans sa *Conception of Buddhist Nirvana* lorsqu'il définissait l'univers des Madhyamikas comme "monistic", traduisait Nirvāna par "Absolute", interprétait CANDRAKIRTI *samsaranirvaṇaḥ avaiśeṣaḥ pratipadītaḥ*, par "we have established that there is no difference between the phenomenal world and the Absolute (underlying it)," avec la note "This identity (de l'existence,

<sup>14</sup> Il n'est pas très difficile je crois de s'entendre Les Madhyamikas ne sont pas des nihilistes *nastika* puisqu'ils admettent le monde des causes et des effets l'apparence ou contingence *saṃvṛti* l'acte la transmigration la carrière du Bodhisattva Ils affirment en *saṃvṛti* en vérité relative mais nous dit-on ils nient en *paramārtha* en vérité absolue S'ils nient que le monde de la relativité ait quelque substrat absolu s'ils nient (et c'est le point litigieux) tout absolu indépendant du monde de la relativité ne pouvons nous pas penser qu'ils sont en métaphysique des nihilistes ?

Samsāra, et du Nirvāna) must evidently be understood in the sense that the Unity of the Absolute is the reality underlying the mirage of plurality" (p. 207). Il notait que les *dharma*s (c'est-à-dire tous les donnés de l'existence ou du Samsāra) sont *prakṛti-śānta*, *prakṛtinirvṛta*, essentiellement apaisés, essentiellement "nirvānès," ne naissant ni ne périssant. La pluralité ou existence n'est qu'une illusion couvrant l'Unité absolue sous-jacente.

Le Madhyamaka (CANDRAKĪRTI) définit le Nirvāna comme "la cessation des naissances et des morts, de l'existence." Mais tandis que, pour un docteur comme HARIVARMAN (*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 5. 201), cette cessation est un "ne plus être après avoir été," le Madhyamaka enseigne que cette cessation ne fait rien cesser qui soit réel: elle est la fin apparente d'une activité illusoire (fin d'ailleurs béatifique pour les pseudo-êtres illusionnés). Voir *Conception of Nirvāna*, p. 196, où les mots entre parenthèses sont ajoutés au texte pour rendre le sens: "... when the continuity of birth and death has ceased, when there are neither relations nor causality, this (same world as motionless and eternal) is the called Nirvāna."

### 3. Variété des Mādhyamikas.

Il y a Mādhyamikas et Mādhyamikas. Il semble—je dis, il semble—que BHAVAVIVEKA (ou BHĀVIVEKA), l'auteur du *Joyau dans la main*<sup>12</sup> soit partisan de la négation. Sa pensée se résume: "Ce qui naît des causes n'existe pas réellement, parce que cela naît des causes, comme une magie. Se qui ne naît pas des causes n'existe pas du tout, parce que cela ne naît pas, comme une corne de lièvre."

Mais CANDRAKĪRTI, qui n'est pas une médiocre autorité, s'occupe trop du *tattva*, réalité, pour qu'on puisse affirmer qu'il l'ignore: "Les choses portent une double nature constituée par la vue exacte et la vue erronée. Ce que voient ceux qui voient exactement est la réalité (*tattva: paramārthasat*) ; ce que voient

<sup>12</sup> *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, II. On lira notamment le chapitre sur la *tathatā*, p. 112, où la *tathatā* est réfutée en bonne et due forme. On y relève cependant plusieurs passages d'où il semble résulter que Bhavaviveka, comme Ki tsang, veut quelque chose de plus indicible que la *tathata*.

ceux qui voient erronément est nommé la vérité d'erreur (*samvrti-satya*).” Et comment voient ceux qui voient exactement? Par la “non-perception” (*anupalabdhi*), en ne voyant pas: “Les choses fausses, cbeveux, etc., qui sont imaginées par la vertu de l’ophtalmie, la nature avec laquelle l’homme aux yeux sains les voit, c’est la réalité. De même pour les choses du triple monde, *skandhas*, etc.” On dira que cette vue est une non vue? Précisément, “Si la vérité absolue (*paramārthasatya*) était l’objet du corps, de la voix ou de la pensée, elle ne serait pas la vérité absolue, elle serait la vérité relative ou d’erreur (*samvrtisatya*). La vérité absolue, ô devaputra, est audessus de toute contingence (*vyavahāra*), exempte de distinction, naissance, destruction, dénotabilité, dénotation, cognoscibilité, connaissance. Elle dépasse le savoir de l’Omniscient malgré son universalité et sa perfection” (*Madhyamakāvatāra* 6. 23-30).

Si le Madhyamaka tibétain, au témoignage de TSON-KHA-PA signalé par Th. STCHERBATSKY, s’arrête à nier le *paramārthasat*, la chose en soi, telle n’est pas la position de KI-TSANG, un des interprètes qualifiés de l’Ecole des Trois Traités.<sup>16</sup> D’après lui, il est interdit de poser un *paramārthasat*; mais cette négation n’est pas son dernier mot. Le Madhyamaka condamne le *tattva* des autres écoles, mais c’est pour préconiser un ineffable plus subtil; vraiment étranger aux quatre alternatives que le Bouddha lui-même a jadis écartées.

#### 4. La droite contemplation.

D’après KI-TSANG, tout l’enseignement, Petit Véhicule et Grand Véhicule, a pour but et raison d’être la “droite contemplation” 正觀. Le Grand Véhicule est plus proche de cette contemplation que le Petit.<sup>17</sup> Cependant le seul Madhyamaka, système des Trois

<sup>16</sup> KI-TSANG 吉藏, auteur du *San-louen huan-i* 三論玄義, Taisho 1852

<sup>17</sup> Taishō 1852, p 10, 3, 14 “Ensuite nous exposerons les principes communs à l’ensemble des Sāstras. Ils traitent à la fois des Sutras du Grand et du Petit Véhicule, (qui) pareillement exposent leur unique chemin. C’est pourquoi ils ont pour these fondamentale la droite contemplation de non perception. Seulement, dans l’enseignement du Petit Véhicule, la droite contemplation est encore éloignée. c’est pourquoi il a pour these fondamentale l’enseignement des quatre verites. Le Grand Véhicule expose directement la droite contemplation. c’est pourquoi les Sāstras du Grand



Traités, l'expose d'une manière exacte. Aussi semble-t-il que le Madhyamaka soit en quelque sorte extérieur aux deux Véhicules puisqu'il s'établit audessus de toutes leurs thèses positives.

La droite contemplation (sans que l'auteur la nomme) est définie par ŚĀNTIDEVA (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 9, 33-35) dans des termes que l'on retrouve chez KI-TSANG, d'après une source indéterminée (comparer 7, 7): "Quand on prend l'idée du vide, quand on s'en imprègne, l'idée d'existence disparaît, et plus tard, par l'habitude de cette pensée: "Rien n'existe," l'idée du vide elle-même est éliminée. En effet, quand on ne perçoit plus, par suite d'élimination de l'idée d'existence, une existence qu'on puisse nier, comment alors se présenterait devant l'esprit la non-existence désormais privée de point d'appui? Et lorsque ni existence ni non existence ne se présentent plus devant l'esprit, alors, n'ayant plus matière à affirmer et à nier, qui sont ses deux modes d'action, l'esprit s'apaise."

Cette formule indique une thérapeutique, une méthode pour la suppression de la pensée. La méprise, grave et que j'ai jadis commise, est de supposer qu'ici s'arrête la doctrine. Nāgārjuna n'est pas un rationaliste. La "non-perception," la droite contemplation de non-perception," s'apparente étroitement au *cittavrttinirodha* des *Yogasūtras*, à l'*uparama* de la *Gītā* (6.20), mieux encore à la *nirodhasamāpatti*, "recueillement de la cessation de la pensée et du mental" du plus archaïque Bouddhisme.

L'arrêt de la pensée du Madhyamaka n'est pas une fin; c'est un commencement; c'est la condition et l'essence de la contemplation exempte de dualité, ni existence, ni non-existence, ni *samvrti* (contingence, apparence, causalité), ni *paramārthasat* ou *paramārthasatya* ou *tattva* (réalité, absolu). Dans le silence parfait, par la suppression de tout *prapañca* (discours et matière du discours), l'ascète atteint la droite contemplation qui va à l'Inéffable.<sup>18</sup>

Toutefois, pour que le jeu réussisse, pour que l'opposition de Véhicule ont pareillement pour thèse fondamentale la droite contemplation de non-perception de non-dualité. Seulement, en ce qui concerne le moyen, il y a différence, d'où la variété des écoles . . ." (Ce texte m'a été signalé par M. Paul DEMIÉVILLE, oct 1932)

<sup>18</sup> Comparer ce qui a été dit ci-dessus, p 144, du *nirvāṇa* de STHIRAMATI

l'existence et de la non-existence conduise l'ascète à la droite contemplation, l'ascète ne doit pas "prendre" la vacuité (ou non-existence), ne doit pas "mal prendre" la vacuité. "Le grand saint a enseigné que les *dharma*s sont vides pour écarter toutes les opinions. Donc celui qui voit l'existence du vide, les Bouddhas ne le convertissent pas. L'eau est capable d'éteindre le feu; mais si l'eau fait soudre le feu, que faudra-t-il employer pour éteindre le feu? L'anéantissement et la permanence sont le feu, et le vide est capable de détruire ces deux opinions; mais, si on s'attache au vide, il n'est pas de remède qui puisse détruire." (KI-TSANG, p. 7, 1, 11.)

Les écoles, Madhyamaka et Yogācāra, s'accusent mutuellement de mal prendre la vacuité, *śūnyatā*. Le Yogācāra croit que le Madhyamaka s'attache à la vacuité comme à une négation; que, par conséquent, il tombe dans l'extrémité de la non-existence, *sarvam sarvena nāsti*, et perd le chemin du milieu (ASAṄGA, *Yogaśāstra*). Le Madhyamaka repousse cette critique. Il ne s'arrête pas à la négation; il ne se fixe pas dans la vacuité, qui d'après lui, est uniquement purgative. Et à son tour il critique. Faut-il, pour éliminer la maladie de la négation ou de la vacuité, prendre comme remède l'affirmation de l'existence? Or telle est, d'après le Madhyamaka, l'erreur du Yogācāra.

Définir la vacuité en termes de *tathatā*, *bhūtakoti*, *ānimitta*, *paramārthatā*, *dharmadhātu* (*Madhyāntavibhāga*), dire qu'on la "réalise," qu'on se la rend présente par un certain savoir supérieur (*Siddhi*); qu'elle est aussi bien *sattā*, nature de ce qui est, que *śūnyatā*, nature de ce qui est vide (*Siddhi*); que, sous l'aspect de corps du Bouddha (où elle est pratiquement ce qu'elle est essentiellement), on doit lui reconnaître les attributs d'éternité, de béatitude, de personnalité, de pureté (*nitya*, *sukha*, *ātma*, *śuciparamitā* [*Uttaratantra*, 106]), n'est-ce pas, quoi qu'on en dise, faire de la vacuité un Absolu? En vain prétend-on éliminer la maladie de la croyance au monde apparent, par la vacuité, si la vacuité est, à son tour conçue comme une forme supérieure d'existence ou d'être.

Les Sūtras enseignent la permanence (*sadāsthāyitā*, *Nirvāna-sūtra*), mais cette doctrine est visiblement d'ordre préliminaire

(*prayoga*). Les Sûtras contiennent l'intention du Bouddha, mais souvent, en raison des dispositions des fidèles, ils dissimulent cette intention, comme on voit par la distinction et l'étude des cinq périodes de l'enseignement. C'est pourquoi "les anciens systèmes perdent l'intention du Bouddha. Ils ne distinguent pas la vérité" (KI-TSANG, 6. I, 15). Le seul NĀGĀRJUNA enseigne le vrai chemin du milieu; il est le seul Mādhyamika. Ce n'est pas que les anciens systèmes soient faux ou "de travers," mais ils atteignent seulement le préliminaire. Disons qu'ils sont vérité de moyen ou "rectitude de *yong 用*." NĀGĀRJUNA les écarte ou, plus exactement, les dépasse. C'est pourquoi un interprète japonais a pu dire que la doctrine du Madhyamaka n'est ni celle du Petit Véhicule, ni celle du Grand: manière de parler inexacte car le Madhyamaka est la fleur du Grand Véhicule.<sup>19</sup>

Cette doctrine condamne la théorie de l'existence (Petit Véhicule) et la théorie de la vacuité que des docteurs du Grand Véhicule muent en réalité (*tattva*) sous les noms de *tathatā* ou de *dharmadhātu* ou encore de Nirvāṇa. C'est avec raison que TH. STCHERBATSKY dit que le Madhyamaka écarte le *paramārthasat*, la chose existant en soi, l'Absolu. Sa vacuité est tout uniment le fait que les choses (*dharma*) n'ont pas de nature propre; elle n'est pas, comme celle du Yogācāra une certaine "nature des choses" (*dharmatā*) vide de la nature propre faussement attribuée aux choses. Elle est toute négative; mais le Madhyamaka ne s'arrête pas à la négation, qui n'est qu'un remède, un *prayoga*.

### 5. Les deux vérités.

Les docteurs du Grand Véhicule disent que l'enseignement du Bouddha repose sur la distinction des deux vérités, vérité de

<sup>19</sup> RYANOS FUJISHIMA, *Bouddhisme japonais*, 1889, p. 58, d'après B. NANJIO, *Short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects*, 1887 (Le chapitre sur la secte des Trois Traités est de KOCHO OGURUSU) "Quant à la doctrine de cette secte qui n'est ni celle du Mahayāna ni celle du Hinayāna, elle peut se résumer en ces quelques mots. La vérité n'est rien que l'état d'esprit de ceux qui arrivent au point de la non-acquisition (*anupalabdhi*) ou l'idée du néant et le l'existence disparaît absolument. L'homme dont la juste méditation atteint cette profondeur devient Bouddha."

On remarque cette déclaration de KI-TSANG (5, 2, 27). "Le système du Grand Véhicule coupe complètement le Samsāra c'est la 'vue d'aneantissement' (*uccheda-dṛṣṭi*), il enseigne que le Nirvāṇa est éternel c'est la 'vue de permanence' (*sārvata-dṛṣṭi*)" B a donc à la fois les deux vues erronées

*samvrti* et vérité de *paramārtha*. Cette distinction n'est pas inconnue du Petit Véhicule. Mais il y a différence. Pour le Sarvāstivāda, est existant du point de vue du *paramārtha* (*paramārthasat*), c'est-à-dire absolument, vraiment, ce qui ne peut être "fendu" ou analysé: c'est-à-dire les donnés élémentaires, l'atome, les moments de sensation, etc. Ce qui est composé, aggrégat, sérial, existe seulement du point de vue de la *samvrti*: ce mot a le même sens que le pâli *sammuti* et signifie "opinion vulgaire." L'exemple classique est la forêt: la forêt existe pour l'opinion (*samvrtisat*), ou par désignation (*prajñaptisat*), l'arbre étant, par rapport à la forêt, existant absolument ou réellement (*paramārthasat*). Le procès d'analyse peut être poursuivi: l'arbre n'a qu'une existence de désignation (*prajñaptisat*) par rapport aux branches, etc., par rapport aux grands éléments et aux atomes. De même la personne (*pudgala*) n'est en réalité qu'un aggrégat des éléments (*skandhas*), qu'une série des moments (*ksana*) d'existence de ceux-ci. (Voir *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 5, Note sur les deux vérités)

On voit bien que cette théorie,—qui, en termes techniques, est la négation de l'existence réelle du "tout" (*avayavin*), simple collection des parties (*avayava*),—soulève des problèmes difficiles: la forêt n'est que des arbres, mais elle a un emploi qui n'appartient pas aux arbres pris un à un. De même la série des pensées (*samtāna*) n'est que la suite des moments (*ksana*) de pensée: il n'empêche que la série n'existe pas dans chaque moment, et qu'elle possède une activité propre. Mais on peut dire que nos textes, s'ils signalent ces problèmes, ne s'y arrêtent pas. Pour les philosophies du Petit Véhicule, les choses (*dharma*s) produites par les causes existent absolument, avec leur nature propre (*svabhāva*), matière, sensation, etc. Les *dharma*s ne sont pas "vides" (*śūnya*). Mais la personne (*pudgala*) n'a qu'une existence nominale ou de désignation (*prajñaptisat*): elle est vide de nature propre. En termes techniques, le Petit Véhicule "orthodoxe" (Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika), à l'exclusion des Vātsīputrīyas et de leur groupe (qui sont des personnalistes, *pudgalavādin*), professe la *pudgalaśūnyatā*, la doctrine que le *pudgala* est vide.

Dans le Grand Véhicule, d'après l'étymologie reçue, *samvrti* signifie "ce qui couvre, ce qui cache," le phénomène, l'apparence. Le Grand Véhicule professe la *dharmaśūnyatā*, "vacuité des

*dharmas*, vacuite de l'apparence. Les *dharmas* que le Petit Vehicule considere comme "existant absolument" (*paramartha sat*) n'existent, tels quels, que pour la *samvrti*, parce que, ainsi qu'il a été expliqué ci-dessus, ils sont produits par les causes et les conditions (*hetupratyaya*). Ils sont vides de la nature propre que nous leur attribuons. Ce n'est pas qu'ils n'existent pas : ils sont par définition, "existence". Ce n'est pas qu'ils n'agissent pas : des *dharmas* existant en soi seraient éternels et immobiles, au contraire les *dharmas*, fabriqués par les causes, sont eux-mêmes causes. La vraie nature des *dharmas* est leur vacuite (*sunyata*) même, leur réalité (*tattva*) est leur inexistence (*abhava*) en soi. Telle est la vérité vraie (*paramarthasatya*) ou la réalité (*tattva*) de la *samvrti* ou de l'apparence.

A la vérité, la *samvrti* est "droite," car elle est, en quelque façon, libérée des deux extrémités ou faussetés de l'existence et la non-existence. De ce qui est par "designation" (*prajñapti*), on ne peut dire que cela existe absolument, on ne peut pas dire que cela n'existe pas d'une certaine manière. En ce qui concerne le *tattva*, même remarque. On ne peut pas dire qu'il n'existe pas absolument, on ne peut pas dire qu'il existe d'une manière quelconque. Mais la "rectitude" de la *samvrti* et du *tattva* est d'ordre pratique (*yong*), non métaphysique (*t'i t'i*), car l'un et l'autre mettent en œuvre des concepts, et les concepts, par définition, sont inexacts.

Il reste donc que la doctrine des deux vérités aboutit à une contradiction qui n'est pas satisfaisante. Affirmer en *samvrti*, nier en *paramartha*, c'est opposer l'existence et la non-existence. Tel n'est pas le chemin du milieu. "Le savoir superficiel voit que les *dharmas* existent ou n'existent pas. On est dès lors incapable de voir le Dharma paisible qui détruit toutes les vues" (KI TSANG, p. 2, 3). Le problème sera résolu si on rejette la *samvrti* et le *paramartha*, l'existence et la non-existence. Ainsi qu'il a été expliqué ci-dessus, la négation (*sunyata*, non-existence) détruit l'affirmation (*samvrti*, existence), et elle-même, l'objet jadis affirmé étant détruit, faute d'objet, disparaît de l'esprit libre, en effet, de l'appareil conceptuel. Les deux extrémités (*anta*) sont évitées ou supprimées. C'est la le chemin du milieu, il aboutit

à la droite contemplation qui, par la "non-perception" (*anupalabdhi*) du faux, va à l'ineffable et impensable principe. Ce principe est étranger à la notion des *dharma*s lesquels, une fois posés, ne peuvent être qu'existants ou inexistants.

La vraie nature des *dharma*s n'est ni *samvrti*, ni *śūnyatā* (ou *tattva*). "A l'endroit de cette nature, les paroles meurent, la réflexion s'arrête." C'est là le "principe" (*t'i*) qui est absolument "droit" parce qu'il rompt toute fausseté. Ainsi seront expliquées les équivalences paradoxales enseignées dans le Sūtra: qu'il n'y a pas de différence entre le *samsāra* (processus des *dharma*s) et le *nirvāna* (fin de ce processus); que le *rūpa* ou couleur est la *śūnyatā*, que la *śūnyatā* est *rūpa*. En d'autres termes, il y a, du point de vue métaphysique, identité entre la *samvrti*, existence, et le *paramārtha* (*tattva*), inexistence. Leur opposition est du domaine de l'apparence: elle est vraie, cependant, non-fausse, "droite"; mais cette vérité, cette rectitude est de *prayoga*, préliminaire, préparatoire, pratique.

## 6. La *dharmaśūnyatā* et le Petit Véhicule.

On admet généralement que la *dharmaśūnyatā* caractérise le Grand Véhicule, est inconnue du Petit. Cependant:

1—*Samyutta* 3.142: "La matière est semblable à un flocon d'écume, la sensation à une bulle dans l'eau, la perception (*samjñā*) à un mirage, les *samskāras* au bananier, la connaissance à une magie" (voir, *Madhyamakāvatāra* 20-22, d'autres textes).

2—Qu'est la doctrine des trois recueils (*śūnyatā*, *ānimitta*, *apranihita*) sinon une discipline de la *dharmaśūnyatā*? (*Abhidharmakosa* 8.184).

3—KI-TSANG observe que les quatre grands Śrāvakas du *Lotus* (*Adhimuktiparivarta*, début) exposent le vide qu'ils ont obtenu, et déclarent: "Nous avons longuement pratiqué le *dharma* vide, sans naissance et sans destruction, ni petit ni grand, pur (*anāsrava*), inconditionné (*asamskṛta*). Mais nous n'avons pas produit d'attachement à l'endroit du sapience—savoir des Bouddhas."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> La citation n'est pas littérale, car on a, dans l'édition sanscrite . . . *bhagavato dharmam deśayamānasya śūnyatānismittāpranīhitam sarvaṃ āvīkurmo nāsmābhīr eṣu*

Ils ont vu la double vacuité du *pudgala* et des *dharmas*: ils se sont crus en possession du Nirvāna.

4—Enfin, il y a un système, celui de HANIVANMAN, auteur de la *Tattvasiddhi*, qui, d'après quelques uns, fait le pont entre les deux Véhicules, parce qu'il enseigne la *dharmasūnyatā*. KI-TSANG démontre, par dix arguments, que le livre de HANIVANMAN est de Petit Véhicule, notamment parce que sa *dharmasūnyatā*, comme celle des Grands Śrāvakas du Lotus, diffère sous quatre aspects de la *dharmasūnyatā* du Grand Véhicule (p. 4, 1, 27). Bien que les explications ne soient pas très claires, on y peut apprendre quelque chose.

a—Le Petit Véhicule (HANIVANMAN notamment) brise les *dharmas* et montre qu'ils sont vides. Le Grand montre que la "nature originelle" est vide et calme.

b—Le Petit enseigne les deux vacuités des choses de l'existence ou des trois *dhātus*: sa vacuité est étroite. Le Grand enseigne les deux vacuités des trois *dhātus* et de ce qui est extérieur aux trois *dhātus*: sa vacuité est longue.

c—Le Petit enseigne la vacuité mais n'enseigne pas la non-vacuité, le Grand enseigne la vacuité et explique la non-vacuité. Le *Nirvanasūtra* dit: "Le Śrāvaka voit seulement la vacuité et ne voit pas la non-vacuité. Le sage voit les deux. La vacuité, c'est l'existence (ou *samsara*) ; la non-vacuité, c'est le Grand Nirvāna."

## V MAHĀPADEŚA, KĀLĀPADEŚA

1—L'expression *mahāpadeśa* est connue de longue date par le *Digha*. 2, p. 123, et l'*Anguttara*. 2, p. 167. Elle a été commentée par BUDDHAGHOSA, RHYS DAVIDS et O. FRANCKE.<sup>21</sup> Il s'agit de

*buddhadharmesu . sphrodbhavita*—La version de BURNOUR est correcte, KERNY introduit une négation non justifiée

"BUDDHAGHOSA *mahāpadesa ti mahā olāse mahā apadesa vā buddhadayo mahante mahante apadintva vuttanti mahakaranam ti attho*

Rhys Davids *Dialogues* "the causes (authorities) alleged when referring to Buddha and other great men"—Hesite entre "true authorities" et "great authorities" (*Dialogues*, II, 133)

O Francke, *Digha in Auswahl übersetzt*, 1913 "*apadesa* wohl wörtlich Hinweis (auf eine Autorität)", d'où la traduction "Ich will zu euch reden von den vier hohen Autoritäten, auf die euch heruft"

l'authenticité des textes sacrés. Bhagavat enseigne quatre grandes règles ou références. Quiconque propose un texte comme parole du Bouddha, se réfère soit au Bouddha lui-même qu'il a entendu, soit à une communauté . . . : "Si un bhikkhu dit: 'J'ai entendu ceci de Bhagavat.' Ceci est Dharma, Vinaya, Enseignement (śāsana) du Maître, il faut voir si ce texte (*padavyañjanāni*) se trouve dans le Sūtra; apparaît dans le Vinaya.<sup>22</sup> Si non, rejetez en disant: 'Ceci n'est pas la parole de Bhagavat.' Si oui. . . ."

De même, quand un texte est proposé (2)—sur l'autorité de "la communauté de tel endroit, communauté où il y a des anciens (*thera*), des Chefs (*pāṃokha*); 3—sur l'autorité de nombreux Anciens de tel endroit, instruits, ayant reçu l'Écriture,<sup>23</sup> connaissant le Dharma, le Vinaya, le Sommaire (*mātikādhara*); 4—sur l'autorité d'un Ancien instruit, ayant reçu l'Écriture, connaissant le Dharma le Vinaya, le Sommaire."

2—L'expression *kālāpadeśa* se rencontre dans deux paragraphes du *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (ed. WOGIHARA, 1930-1936) conjuguée à *mahāpadeśa*. Nous ne possédons pas de glose et sommes médiocrement éclairés par le contexte.<sup>24</sup> Définition de la *samyakcintanā*, "réflexion correcte," p. 108. Le Bodhisattva examine rationnellement (*yuktyā*) certains points; à d'autres, il croit simplement. Il prend recours (*pratisarana*) dans le sens, non pas dans le texte (*vyañjanesu*). Il connaît exactement le *kālāpadeśa* et les *mahā-*

<sup>22</sup> La formule sanscrite, développement de la formule pâlie, nous fut connue d'abord par le commentateur du *Bodhicaryavatāra* 9 42 "Ce qui nous arrive comme parole du Bouddha traditionnellement par la succession des maîtres et des disciples, ce qui se trouve dans le Sūtra, apparaît dans le Vinaya, ne contredit pas la vérité ou nature des choses, c'est parole du Bouddha", *Sūtrālamkāra* 1 10 "Ce qui se trouve dans le Sūtra " *Yad gururūpyaparamparayāṃnāyāgatam buddhāvacaṇatvena yac ca sūtre vatarati vinaye sandṛśyate dharmaṭāṃ ca na vimocayati tad buddhāvacaṇam* —Pali *suttie* c'eva oṭaranti vinaye ca sandassanti

Childers (*JRAS*, n s 4, 329) cite un commentaire tardif, *Cullasaddanī*, "Bhagavat enseigne sans contredire la vérité," *dharmasabbhāvaṃ avilomento* D'après S LÉVI, trad du *Sūtrālamkāra*, p 10, note

<sup>23</sup> Āgataḡama, "holding the faith as handed down by tradition," "die Lehr Überlieferung kennen" Voir le bon article de *Pali Text Dict*, s voc *āgama*

<sup>24</sup> A signaler aussi *Śikṣasamuccaya*, p 63 *sūtravīṇayasikṣā anapekṣya kalopadesa-mahapadesān apahaya* D'après ROUSE BENDALL (trad dans *Indian Texts Series*, 1922) "They disregard the Scriptures, the Rules and the Discipline, and abandon the great principles and the precepts of casuistry," avec une note "precepts of the Black One, apparently"



*padeśas* . . .<sup>25</sup> Parmi les points de doctrine (*dharma*) sur lesquels il a rationnellement réfléchi, il en est où son intelligence (*buddhi*) ne pénètre pas. Il y croit, disant: "Ceci est du domaine du Bouddha, non du domaine de mon intelligence"; il ne rejette pas ces points et demeure irréprochable. Prenant recours dans le sens, non dans le texte, il entre dans tous les discours intentionnels (*samdhāyavacana*) des Bouddhas Bhagavats. Habile en *kālapadeśa-mahapadeśa*,<sup>26</sup> rien ne peut le faire choir du vrai sens (*tattvārtha*).

Le Bodhisattva écoute la loi (*Dharma*) en se préoccupant du sens (*artharthin*), non des syllabes. Prenant son recours dans le sens, il écoute avec respect la loi, même quand elle est enseignée d'une manière vulgaire (*prakṛtāyāpi vācā* en *pracrit*?). Il connaît exactement le *kalāpadeśa* et le *mahapadeśa*:<sup>27</sup> les connaissant, il a recours dans la raison (*yuktī*) et non dans les personnes (*pudgala*) en disant: "Ces textes (*dharma*) sont dits par un Ancien ou par un homme instruit (*abhyñata*) ou par le Tathāgata, ou par le Saṃgha." Ayant recours dans la raison, non dans des personnes, il ne choit pas du vrai sens et ne dépend pas d'autrui (*parapratyaya*).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> MS *kalapadesamahapadesams ca nag po bstan pa dan chen po bstan pa namo kalapadesam mahapadesams ca*

On notera que *kala* signifie certainement "noir", le tibétain a *nag-po*, HIRAN TSANG, *hei* (clef 203) et *an* (clef 169) "noir" ou "obscur"

Le tibétain traduit *apadeśa* par *bstan-pa* *nrdeśa*, indication, instruction. Le chinois a *chou* 說, parole enseignement

En comprenant *kala* "temps" on aurait un sens facile *kalāpadeśa*, règles de circonstance. C'est le "casuistry" de BENDALL-ROUSE. Mais la signification "noir" est imposée par les traducteurs. Parmi les choses noires, le *kalasutra* (chinois *cheng me*, "corde encre," cordeau de charpentier, cordeau trempé dans l'encre, règle). COUVREUR donne un exemple "Comme le cordeau pour les lignes brisées et les lignes droites" qui correspond à une des définitions du mot *sūtra* de la *Vibhāsa* (p. 659, col. 8). MORRIS a étudié le *kālasutta* des sources pâlies (*gāthaka* 2 405, *Mūlinda*, 413) qui devient l'instrument de supplice de l'enfer *Kalasutra* dans le *Mahāvastu*. Le charpentier se nomme *sūtradhara* parce qu'il se sert de cet instrument (JPTS 1884, 76).

La *Vibhāsa* explique le mot *sūtra* au sens de "lier réunir" "comme un fil lie les fleurs, de même la parole du Bouddha empile le sens, groupe les formules comme 'les choses sont transitoires,' coiffe la pensée des êtres" Et au sens de "couper graver" "coupant les longueurs superflues prenant le *pada-artha*, raclant (ou gravant) le sens comme l'ouvrier au moyen de la corde-encre au moyen du fil noir, équarrit sa pièce" Mais je ne voudrais pas attacher quelque importance à ce rapprochement

<sup>26</sup> *kalāpadeśamahāpadesakusala*

<sup>27</sup> *kalāpadeśam ca mahāpadeśam ca*. Le premier *ca* est omis dans C

<sup>28</sup> The editors have the great regret to announce that since preparing the above article Professor de La Vallée Poussin died on Feb. 18 1909 without the opportunity

# LEARNED CELEBRITIES<sup>1</sup>

## A CRITICISM OF THE CONFUCIANS AND THE MOISTS

BY

HAN FEI TZŪ

TRANSLATED BY W. K. LIAO (廖文立)

This article is one of the best known writings by Han Fei tzŭ (? 283 B C), whose complete works I have recently rendered into English. The whole translation is based mainly on the best Chinese text, Wang Hsien shen's *The Works of Han Fei tzŭ with Collected Commentaries*<sup>2</sup> (1895) with the recent explicative edition of the text with a Japanese translation and notes (1931) by T. HIRAZAWA<sup>3</sup> as reference. It will appear in a forthcoming volume together with a companion work, "Han Fei tzŭ, the Crowning Glory of Chinese Legalism" in which I have attempted a critical exposition of the main trends of the author's thought. Inasmuch as it is the first translation of Han Fei tzŭ's complete works into a Western language, it probably involves incorrect or inaccurate points. Therefore any emendations or elucidations suggested by the reader will be most welcome.—W. K. L.

In the present age, the celebrities for learning are the Literati and the Moists. The supreme figure of the Literati was K'UNG Ch'iu [Confucius]; the supreme figure of the Moists, Mo TI. Since the death of Confucius, there have appeared among the Literati the School of Tzŭ-chang,<sup>4</sup> the School of Tzŭ-ssŭ,<sup>5</sup> the School of YEN,<sup>6</sup> the School of MENG,<sup>7</sup> the School of CH'U-TIAO,<sup>8</sup> the School of CHUNG-LIANG,<sup>9</sup> the School of Sun,<sup>10</sup> and the School of Yo-

<sup>1</sup> 顯學. The English rendering by L. T. CH'EN is "Upholding Learning" which is incorrect (v. LIAO, *History of Chinese Political Thought*, p. 129 n. 2). [EDITORS' NOTE. It is regrettable that distance prevents the obtaining of a fuller justification from Mr. Liao. He is probably analyzing the term by analogy with 顯士, whereas Mr. Ch'en has interpreted *hsien* as a verb. The evidence immediately at our disposal does not determine a choice.]

<sup>2</sup> 王先慎集註韓非子集解

<sup>3</sup> 平澤東貫著韓非子新釋

<sup>4</sup> 子張 was the pen name of CHUAN Sun shih (顏師師) a disciple of Confucius

<sup>5</sup> 子思 was the pen name of HUNG Chi (孔伋), grandson of Confucius

<sup>6</sup> 顏 refers to YEN Hui (顏回) an eminent disciple of Confucius

<sup>7</sup> 孟 refers to MENGZI, who studied under Tzŭ-ssŭ

<sup>8</sup> 漆雕 refers to CH'U-TIAO K'ai (漆雕開), a disciple of Confucius

<sup>9</sup> 仲良 lived during the Era of the Warring States but his biography is not clearly known

<sup>10</sup> 孫 refers to SUN Ch'ing (孫卿), known better as HSŪN tzŭ (荀子).

CHÊNG<sup>11</sup> Since the death of Mo tzü, there have appeared among the Moists the School of HSIANG LI,<sup>12</sup> the School of HSIANG FU,<sup>13</sup> and the School of TÊNG Ling<sup>14</sup> Thus, after Confucius and Mo tzu, the Literati have divided into eight schools and the Moists into three In what they accept and what they reject they are contrary to and different from one another but each claims to be the orthodox Confucian or Moist Now that Confucius and Mo tzu are not able to come to life again, who can determine the correctness of learning thereafter?

Confucius and Mo tzü both followed Yao and Shun, though they differed in matters of acceptance and rejection, yet each claimed to represent the true Yao and Shun Now that Yao and Shun are not able to come to life again, who can determine genuineness as between the Literati and Moists? For our people, who have passed through the time of Yu<sup>15</sup> and Hsia<sup>16</sup> upwards of seven hundred years, and through the Yin and Chou<sup>17</sup> Dynasties upwards of two thousand years, it is impossible to determine whether the Literati or the Moists are right Now, if anybody wants to scrutinize the ways of Yao and Shun dating from three thousand years ago, is it possible to insist upon such an effort?

To insist upon anything that has no corroborating evidences, is stupid, to abide by anything that one can not be sure of, is self deceptive Therefore, those who freely quote the early kings and dogmatically speak on behalf of Yao and Shun, if not stupid, must be deceitful Studies so stupid and deceptive and actions so heretical and contradictory as these are never approved by the intelligent ruler

The Moists, for funeral rites, wear winter clothes in winter days and summer clothes in summer days, make coffins three inches

<sup>11</sup> 樂正 refers to YO-CHENG Tzû-chun (樂正子春) who was a disciple of TSENG Shen (曾參) TSENG Shen being a famous disciple of Confucius

<sup>12</sup> 相里 refers to HSIANG-LI Chin (相里勤)

<sup>13</sup> 相夫 is not clearly known

<sup>14</sup> 鄧陵 was a famous Moist from the South mentioned by Chuang tzu

<sup>15</sup> 虞 was the surname of Emperor Shun (traditionally dated 2255-2205 B.C.)

<sup>16</sup> 夏 was the name of the dynasty (2205-1766 B.C.) founded by King Yu

<sup>17</sup> With Kao Heng 殷周 and 虞夏 should be interchanged

thick of Paulownia, and observe only three months' mourning. Regarding this as a frugal act, the ruler of the age respects them. The Literati, on the contrary, for the sake of funeral observance break up the family and give the sons in pawn to compensate for their losses,<sup>18</sup> and observe three years' mourning till they break down their health and have to walk with the aid of canes. Regarding this as an act of filial piety, the ruler of the age respects them. But in fact, to approve the frugality of Mo tzu one has to reprove Confucius for his extravagance, to approve the filial piety of Confucius one has to reprove Mo tzu for his impiety. Now, piety and impiety, frugality and extravagance, all are found among the Literati and the Moists alike, and the sovereign respects them equally.

According to the theory of CH'I TIAO,<sup>19</sup> one should not slacken his facial colour in front of others<sup>20</sup> nor should he blink his eyes around even in face of dangers,<sup>21</sup> if he acts wrong he should give way even to men and women servants, and if he acts right, he should assert himself even before the feudal princes. Regarding this as an act of integrity, the ruler of the age respects him. Again, according to the teaching of SUNG Jung tzu,<sup>22</sup> one should delight in a non combattant attitude towards opponents and approve of non retaliatory actions against enemies, if cast into prison, he should not be ashamed, and, if insulted, he should not feel humiliated. Regarding this as an attitude of magnanimity, the ruler of the age respects him. But in fact, to approve the integrity of CH'I TIAO one has to reprove SUNG Jung for his forgiveness, to approve the generosity of SUNG Jung one has to reprove CH'I TIAO for his fierceness. Now, generosity and integrity, forgiveness and fierceness, all are found in these two philosophers alike, and the Lord of Men respects them equally.

Inasmuch as stupid and deceptive studies and heretical and contradictory theories are in conflict while the Lord of Men

<sup>18</sup> 貨子而償 is found in the imperial 御覽 edition.

<sup>19</sup> This CH'I TIAO must be different from the one already mentioned.

<sup>20</sup> This means he should maintain his dignity.

<sup>21</sup> This means he should stand firm.

<sup>22</sup> 宋榮子 refers to SUNG Hsing (宋榮) a famous Moist of the State of Sung, who advocated pacifism.

tolerates them equally, the gentry within the seas have neither definite forms of speech nor constant standards of conduct. In deed, ice and charcoal do not share the same vessel and last long, winter and summer do not come at the same time. Likewise, heretical and contradictory studies do not stand together and yet permit orderly government. Now that heretical studies are equally heeded and contradictory theories are absurdly acted upon, how can there be other than chaos? If the ruler tolerates such studies and acts upon such theories, he is bound to repeat the same errors in governing the people.

The learned men of the present age, when they speak on political order, mostly say "Give land to the poor and the destitute, and thereby provide men of no property with enough." However, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have of themselves become able to be completely self supporting even without the advantage of prosperous years or supplementary incomes it must be due, if not to their diligence, then to their frugality. Again, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have of themselves become poor and destitute even without any suffering from famine and drought, or illness and affliction, or calamity and catastrophe, it must be due, if not to their extravagance, then to their laziness. Extravagant and lazy persons are poor, diligent and frugal persons are rich. Now, if the sovereign levies money from the rich in order to distribute alms among the poor, it means that he robs the diligent and frugal and rewards the extravagant and lazy. Naturally, if he desires to make the people speed up their work and restrain their expenditure, he finds it impossible.

Now suppose you keep a number of books, practise the art of righteousness, would not enter any city that was in danger, would not stay in military camps, and would not exchange a hair from his skin for any great profit in All under-Heaven. Then be sure the ruler of this age will respect him therefor, honouring his wisdom, exalting his conduct, and regarding him as a gentleman despising material trifles and esteeming meaningful life. Indeed, the reason that the sovereign offers good fields and large houses and establishes ranks and bounties, is to induce the people to sacrifice

their lives. Yet as long as the sovereign honours the gentlemen who despise material trifles and esteem meaningful life, it is impossible to have the people sacrifice their lives for his royal cause.

Now suppose you keep a number of books, practise the art of speaking, gather a band of pupils, indulge in culture and learning, and discuss theories, then be sure the ruler of this age will respect you therefor, saying, "To respect worthy gentlemen is the way of the early kings." Indeed, those who are taxed by the magistrates are the farmers, while those who are maintained by the sovereign are the learned gentlemen. As farmers, the former are the more heavily taxed; as learned gentlemen, the latter are the more greatly rewarded. Hence it is impossible to require the people to work hard and talk little.

Again, suppose you build a standard of fidelity, blend all clever principles,<sup>23</sup> maintain strict self-control, do not act aggressively, and be sure to pursue anybody with your sword whenever his reproachful words pass into your ears, then the ruler of this age will honour you as a self-respecting gentleman. Indeed, as long as the merit of head-cutting in war is not rewarded but the bravery of family quarrels is celebrated with honours, it is impossible to require the people to fight hard and resist enemies and have no private quarrels. The state, in time of peace, maintains the Literati and the cavaliers, and, once emergency comes, engages the armed officers. Thus, those who are maintained are not the ones engaged; those who are engaged are not the ones maintained. That is the reason why there is disorder.

Further, the Lord of Men, in listening to a learned man, if he approves his words, should officially put them into practice, and appoint the person to office; and, if he reproves him for his words, should get rid of the person and put an end to his heretical doctrine. Of today, however, what is regarded as right is not officially put into practice, and what is regarded as wrong is not stamped out as heretical doctrine. Thus, the right is not used, the wrong not stopped; which is the way to chaos and ruin.

TAN-T'AI Tzū-yü<sup>24</sup> had the manners of a gentleman. Consider-

<sup>23</sup> The *Tao tsang* 道藏 edition reads 明 for 民

<sup>24</sup> 澹臺子羽 was a disciple of Confucius

ing him a man of promise, Chung ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his deeds not equal to his looks. Again, Ts'ā Yu's<sup>25</sup> speech was elegant and refined. Considering him a man of promise, Chung ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his wisdom falling short of his eloquence. Hence Confucius said: "In taking a man on the basis of his manners I made a mistake in choosing Tzū yu, in taking a man on the basis of his words I made a mistake in choosing Ts'ā Yu." Thus, notwithstanding his wisdom Chung ni expressed regretful sighs for his misjudgment of realities. Now that the new debaters of today are even more reckless than Ts'ā Yu, and the ruler of this age in listening to them is even more susceptible to delusion than Chung ni, if the sovereign appoints any rhetorician to office on account of delight in his words, how can mistakes be avoided? For instance, Wei trusted to the eloquence of MĒNG Mao<sup>26</sup> and met the disaster at the foot of Mt. Hua. Again, Chao trusted to the eloquence of Ma fu<sup>27</sup> and experienced the calamity of Ch'ang-p'ing. These two instances well illustrate the error in trusting to eloquence.

Indeed, if only the heated and hammered tin is inspected and only the blue and yellow gleams are observed, even Ou Yeh<sup>28</sup> cannot ascertain the quality of a sword. But if you hit snow geese and wild geese in water with the sword and kill pomes and horses on land with it, then even men and women servants, ignorant as they are, are not in doubt whether the sword is blunt or sharp. If only the teeth in the mouth are examined and the formal features are surveyed, then even Po Yo<sup>29</sup> could not be sure of the quality of a horse. But if you harness it to a cart and see the place where it stops, then even men and women servants are not in doubt whether it is a hack or a good horse. Similarly,

<sup>25</sup> 宰予 was a disciple of Confucius.

<sup>26</sup> 孟卯 commander of the army of Wei (魏) was defeated by Pai Chi in the 34th year of King Wu of Chin and the 4th year of King An li of Wei (273 B. C.)

<sup>27</sup> 馬服 was the style of Chao Kua (趙括) who was defeated by Pai Chi in the 6th year of King Hsiao-cheng of Chao (260 B. C.)

<sup>28</sup> 伯樂 was a famous smith in the State of Chao. 夙 should be read 夙.

<sup>29</sup> 伯樂 was a famous horseman.

if only manners and clothes are looked at and only words and phrases are listened to, then even Chung ni cannot ascertain the personality of a gentleman. But if you test him with an official commission and hold him responsible for any work done, then even the mediocre man is not in doubt whether he is stupid or intelligent.

Therefore, as to the subordinates of the intelligent lord, prime ministers must have arisen from among the district magistrates and gallant generals must have emerged from among the squads of soldiers. If persons who have rendered meritorious services are always rewarded, then the greater the ranks and bounties the better encouraged they will be. Again, if the offices are elevated and ranks are promoted, then the larger the official responsibilities the more orderly the state will become. Indeed, it is the way of the king that according as ranks and bounties are raised official responsibilities promote political order.

The possessor of a thousand *li* of rocky land, cannot be called rich, the possessor of a million puppets cannot be called strong. Not because the rocks are not big and the puppets<sup>10</sup> are not numerous. The possessor cannot be called rich and strong, simply because great rocks do not produce grain and puppets cannot be used to resist enemies. Now, men who get office through purchase and practise artful craft, eat without cultivating the land. And land that is not cultivated is in the same category as great rocks. Likewise, the Literati and the cavaliers who have rendered no meritorious service in the army but are celebrated and prosperous,<sup>11</sup> are useless people in the same class as puppets. Those who know the calamity of great rocks and puppets but never know that the office purchasers, the Literati, and the cavaliers, are as harmful as uncultivated land and useless people, do not know the similarity of one thing to another.

For such reasons, in the case of princes of enemy states, though they are delighted at our righteousness, we cannot lay them under tribute as vassals,<sup>12</sup> but in the case of the feudal princes inside

<sup>10</sup> With WANG Hsien shen 數 should be 衆人

<sup>11</sup> With WANG 顯而榮 should be 而顯榮

<sup>12</sup> The German rendering of this passage by Alfred Forke reads "Wenn auch Fürsten und Könige der feindlichen Staaten sich an unserer Rechtsschaffenheit freuen



the passes,<sup>33</sup> though they disapprove our doings, we can always make them bring birds<sup>34</sup> to visit our court. Thus, whoever has great strength sees others visit his court; whoever has little strength visits the courts of others. Therefore the intelligent ruler strives after might.

Indeed, the strictly kept household has no fierce servants, but a compassionate mother has spoilt children. From this I know that authority and position are able to interdict violence, but that virtue and favour are not sufficient to stop disorder.

Indeed, the sage, in ruling the state, does not count on people's doing him good, but utilizes their inability to do him wrong. If he counts people's doing him good, within the boundary there will never be enough such persons to count by tens. But if he utilizes people's inability to do him wrong, an entire state can be regulated.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the administrator of the state affairs ought to consider the many, but disregard the few. Hence his devotion not to moralism but to legalism.

Similarly, if one should always count on arrows which are straight of themselves, there would be no arrow in a hundred generations; if one should only count on pieces of wood which

so sind wir doch (in ihren Augen) keine Meoschen, haben Tribut zu zahlen und zu dienen" This is evidently because Prof Forke misread 吾弗入貢而臣 as 吾弗人; 貢而臣 (cf *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*, p 476).

<sup>33</sup> Namely, within the sphere of our influence

<sup>34</sup> FORKE's translation of this passage reads "Wenn auch die Fürsten innerhalb der Pässe unser Tun verurteilen, so können wir sie doch ergreifen lassen und an unsern Hof zitieren" Again, he mistook 執禽 for 執擒 (v *Ibid*) 禽 literally means "birds" but in this case it connotes both birds and animals "The Board of Ceremonies" (春官) in the *Rites of Chou* (周禮) says "For the classification of different vassals different birds and animals were used to make six kinds of presents to the Superior The feudal prince brings fur robes, the noble kid skin, the high officer the wild goose, the gentry the pheasant, the commoner the duck, and the craftsman and salesman the fowl" Again, there is a passage in the *Chan-kuo ts'ê* 戰國策 as follows "Men became vassals, women concubines, all bringing birds and following the coachmen on the way"

<sup>35</sup> FORKE's translation of this passage reads "... während durch Verhinderung des Bösen die Bewohner des ganzen Reiches sich regieren lassen" For this he read the text as 用人不得爲非一國可使齊爲治也 (Op cit, p 478) According to Ku Kuang-ch'ü 顧廣圻 the last three characters 爲治也 should be 爲治者 which is the subject of the following sentence "The administrator of the state affairs ought to consider the many, but disregard the few" 爲治者用衆而舍寡.

are round of themselves, there would be no wheel in a thousand generations. Though in a hundred generations there is neither an arrow that is straight of itself nor a wheel that is round of itself, yet how is it then that people of every generation ride carts and shoot birds? It is because the tools for straightening and bending are used. To rely not on the tools for straightening and bending<sup>35</sup> but on<sup>37</sup> arrows straight of themselves and wheels round of themselves, is not esteemed by the skilful carpenter. The reason why the skilful carpenter does not esteem such a godsend, is that riding is interesting to more than one person and archery is in demand of more than one shot. Similarly, reliance not on rewards and punishments but on people who are righteous of themselves, is not highly considered by the intelligent lord. The reason therefore is that the law of the state must not be neglected and what is to be ruled is not one man only. Therefore, the artful prince does not follow the good that happens by accident but practises the way that prevails by necessity.

Now supposing someone addressed a person, saying, "I will make you to be wise and to live long," the world would certainly think he was practising deception.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, wisdom is a matter of nature; longevity is a matter of fate. As nature and fate are not what one can learn from others, to assert to a person what men really cannot do, that is what the world calls deception. And to assert to a person<sup>39</sup> what men really cannot become, that is flattery.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, character is a matter of nature, wherefore to instruct men in benevolence and righteousness is the same as to make assertions in the matters of wisdom and long life. The lord who has a standard does not accept such an idea. For illustration, admiring the beauty of MAO Sê and HSI SHIH<sup>41</sup> gains nothing for one's facial looks; but applying rouge, pomade, powder, and eyebrow-paint, makes one's appearance twice as good as before. Similarly, speaking about the benevolence and righteous-

<sup>35</sup> With WANG Hsien-shên 雖有 before 不恃隱括 are superfluous

<sup>37</sup> With WANG 有 should be 恃.

<sup>38</sup> 狂 means 誑.

<sup>39</sup> I propose 其 for 之 between 謂 and 不能然.

<sup>40</sup> With KAO Hêng 諛 below 則是 means 諛 in this case

<sup>41</sup> Both 毛嬙 and 西施 were renowned beauties

ness of the early kings gains nothing for political order; but understanding clearly our laws and measures and determining our rewards and punishments is the rouge, pomade, powder, and eye-brow-paint, of the state. So the intelligent lord urgently seeks real aids, and regards as secondary all empty compliments. Hence no talk about benevolence and righteousness.

Now, witches and priests, in praying for anybody, all say, "May you live as long as one thousand autumns and ten thousand years!" Then the sounds, "one thousand autumns and ten thousand years," echo through the ears. As a matter of fact, however, nobody ever testifies to the addition of a single day to his age. That is the reason why people despise witches and priests. Likewise, the Literati of the present age, when they counsel the Lord of Men, instead of speaking about methods to attain political order at present, talk about the achievement of political order in the past. They neither study affairs pertaining to the government and the law nor observe the conditions of the wicked and the villainous, but all speak on the reputed glories of remote antiquity and on the achievements of the early kings. Ornamenting their speech, the Literati say, "If you listen to our words, you will thereby become a Tyrant." Such people are but witches and priests among the itinerants, whom the lord with a legal standard does not heed. Therefore, the intelligent lord exalts real facts, discards useless things, and does not speak about benevolence and righteousness. He accordingly does not listen to the words of the learned men.

Men of today who do not know the right way to political order, all say, "Win the hearts of the people." If they should think of winning the hearts of the people and thereby attaining political order, then even I Yin and KUAN Chung would find no use for their statesmanship and the sovereign would listen to the people only. The intelligence of the people, however, cannot be depended upon, for it is like the mind of a baby. If the baby does not have his head shaved, the ache will recur; <sup>42</sup> if his hoil is not cut open, his trouble will turn from bad to worse. However, in order to

<sup>42</sup> With WANG Hsien-shén 腹 is a mistake for 復. [EDITORS' NOTE It is our feeling that "it will suffer from colic" makes much better sense than the emended reading.]

shave his head or open his boil someone has to hold the baby while the compassionate mother is performing the work. Yet he keeps crying and yelling incessantly as he does not know that suffering the small pain will gain him great benefit.

Now, the sovereign urges the tillage of rice fields and the cultivation of grassy lands on purpose to increase the production of the people, but they think the sovereign is cruel. To perfect penalties and increase punishments is to repress wickedness, but they think the sovereign is severe. Again, he levies taxes in cash and in grain to fill up the granaries and treasuries, in order thereby to relieve famine and drought and provide for the corps and battalions of the army, but they think the sovereign is greedy. Finally, he traces out every culprit within the boundary, discriminates "among men without personal favouritism," and unites his forces for fierce struggles in order to take his enemies captive, but they think the sovereign is violent. These four measures are methods to attain order and maintain peace, but the people do not know that they ought to rejoice in them.

Indeed, the sovereign seeks for wise and well informed men, because the intelligence of the people is not adequate for use as a directive. For instance, in ancient times, when Yu opened the Kiang<sup>43</sup> and deepened the Ho<sup>44</sup> for draining away the Great Deluge, the people gathered tiles and stones to hit him, when Tzu ch'an cleared fields and planted mulberry trees, the people of Cheng slandered and reviled him. Yu benefited All under Heaven and Tzu ch'an preserved the State of Cheng, but incurred slander. Clear enough, indeed, the intelligence of the people is not satisfactory to employ. Therefore, in appointing officials, to seek for the worthy and the wise, in administering government, to expect to suit the people, both alike are causes of confusion and cannot be applied to the attainment of political order.

<sup>43</sup> With Ku Kuang-chi 介 should be 分

<sup>44</sup> With Ku there must be breaks in the text both before and after the character 解, which alone if literally translated makes no unit of thought in the whole passage and is therefore not translated. [Errors note: The Kanbuntaikei 漢文大系 edition of this text reads at this point 境內教戰陣, 閱士卒, 并力疾闘 . . . Mr. Liao's text probably reads 境內必知介而無私解, 并力 . . . The former signifies Within his boundaries he instructs in warfare reviews troops and unites ]

<sup>45</sup> 江 refers to the Yangtse River

<sup>46</sup> 河 refers to the Yellow River

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I, 145 KATO Shigeru 加藤繁 So to Kinkoku to no Boeki ni tsuite (Concerning Trade between the Sung and the Chin) 宋と金國との貿易に就いて

Trade between the Southern Sung and the Chin 金 Empire of the Juchên was of greater significance than the ordinary Chinese trade with northern barbarian states because it was actually what would normally have been domestic commerce between north and south China. Negotiations to open trade between the two countries were carried on during the years in which they co-operated to destroy the Khitan Liao 遼 Empire, but, this once accomplished, the Chin in turn became the primary enemies of the Sung. After 1131 some commercial intercourse commenced between the two in the Huai 淮 region, but not until 1142, after the border had been fixed rather definitely along the Huai River, the Honan Hupeh border and so on westward through Shensi and Kansu, were official trading posts, called *chueh ch'ang* 榷場 established. The first in Sung territory was at Hsu i hsien 盱眙縣 in northeastern Anhwei, which at the time was near the juncture of the Pien 汴 and Huai Rivers and was therefore on the main commercial route towards the northwest. The chief Chin *chueh ch'ang*, established also in 1142, was Ssu chou 泗州 across the river. Nine other Sung and eleven Chin *chueh ch'ang* followed. For the most part they were in Chiangsu, Anhwei and Honan, but one Chin *chueh ch'ang* in Shantung was obviously for ocean trade, and three in Kansu probably were for trade with Central Asia as well as with the Sung (See lists pp. 4 and 5 and map p. 45). Trade between the two countries seems to have continued until the fall of the Chin with but two interruptions during periods of war from 1161 to 1165 and from 1206 to 1208.

The traders at Hsu i hsien were divided into the "large" and "small" merchants. Only the latter, who were those whose merchandise totaled less than 100 strings of cash (*kuan* 貫) in value, were allowed to go to Ssu-chou in Chin territory to trade,

while the others had to await the arrival of Chin merchants in Hsi-hsien. Both categories of traders were divided into groups of mutual guarantors. Personal contact between the merchants of the two countries was avoided as much as possible. Not only were several heavy taxes and charges to be met before trade was permitted, but also an impost was levied on the hauled articles before they could be resold in Sung territory. Regulations in the other Sung trading posts must have been much the same, and the Chin system was also probably quite similar.

The income derived by the government from the taxes placed on the private traders at *chüeh-ch'ang* was large, but still more profitable to it was monopoly commerce it engaged in itself. Here profits of over 60% were considered normal. The principal commodity in the government trade was tea, and huge quantities of it were exported to north China. Besides this the government monopolized the trade in ivory and certain drugs, incenses and fine woven goods.

The ordinary articles of private commerce are not known so well. However, one of them was cattle, but the bulk of this export trade in live stock seems to have been carried on illicitly, for there was always considerable illegal trade across the border. There was a prohibition against the export of copper cash, but large quantities did find their way out to the money-poor north, while the sea trade to Shantung, which was banned for a while after 1161, seems to have been largely in rice, another prohibited export.

The Sung imported from the Chin pearls, ginseng, silk cloth and thread, herbs for medicines and dyes and also horses in large numbers, despite a Chin and at times Sung prohibitions against the export of horses. Even then the Chin had an adverse trade balance, but this was overcome by large exports of silver, which was relatively cheap in the north.

I, 46-88; II, 169-208. MAKINO Shinnosuke 牧野信之助: *Shōen ni okeru Ukeoi* (The Contract System in the Manors [of Medieval Japan]) 莊園に於ける請負.

Mr. MAKINO has made a detailed study of this subject by citing numerous specific cases illustrative of this important problem in

the gradual decline and final collapse of the manorial agricultural system which took place between the late twelfth and sixteenth centuries. Unfortunately, his rather involved style together with the difficulty of the subject and its complex terminology make the details of the problem at points somewhat obscure, but the general outline is clear.

A type of contract system, in which local officials contracted to provide the taxes from provinces to absentee Governors, had existed already in the provincial administration of the eighth century and was a forerunner of the contract system in the *shoen* 莊園, the provincial manors of the court nobility and the great shrines and monasteries, which had been developing steadily since the Nara period. Although it was not the beginning, the first great impetus to the development of the contract system in the manors was the placing by the *Bakufu* of *jito* 地頭, or "stewards," on the estates in the early years of the Kamakura period. This was a political measure as well as an economic one intended to provide support for the military retainers of the *Bakufu*. The *jito* were intermediary officers placed between the owners of the estates and their officials on the manors. Because of this favored status and the active support of the *Bakufu*, which was interested in maintaining the economic welfare of its retainers, the *jito* felt free to conduct themselves in a high handed manner at the expense of the owners of the estates. In the resulting quarrels, either through the good offices of the *Bakufu* or privately, compromises were reached in which a specific annual income was guaranteed in a written document to the owners by the *jito*, who thus assumed the full responsibility of the administration of the *ukesho* 請所, as such contract estates were called. The documents, which were worded as if they were favors conferred by the owners, always specified the amount due the owner and the period when it should be paid. They also stipulated that the contractor would lose his post if he broke the agreement in any way, but in reality the owner, lacking actual military force, could do little to curb or oust a recalcitrant contractor, and the contractor's rights in and income from an estate became his hereditary and salable property.

In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the central authority was greatly weakened, and consequently there was still less redress to be had against unprincipled contractors. All that the owners could do, if they were powerful enough, was to change contractors or else return to a system of direct supervision of their manors. Meanwhile, the *gto* as a class were sinking in importance, and new contractors were to be found in increasing numbers among the various other officials of the manors and sometimes even among the peasants themselves. At the same time the *Shugo* 守護, the provincial military governors established by the Kamakura *Bakufu*, or their representatives became the primary menace to the owners' hold on their manors. Another characteristic of the period was that the whole contract system became very much more complex and developed a more technical terminology as well as many new features. The common peasantry also became an increasingly active force on the estates and to a certain extent acted as a check on the rapid growth of the feudal power of the contractors.

Many of these conditions were accentuated in the period of civil war during the second half of the fifteenth and much of the sixteenth centuries. Central power collapsed completely, while the *Shugo* and other locally powerful warriors rapidly transformed the land under their control into feudal domains at the expense of the exalted but powerless owners of the manors. The latter strove valiantly to retain the precious income from their estates, but they were constantly forced to make less and less favorable arrangements with the contractors or else to allow contractors to operate estates they had previously managed directly themselves. Since the provincial men even took over manors owned by the Imperial family, one can see that they had few compunctions in seizing what they could of the estates of simple nobles. Meanwhile, the peasantry too was becoming still more self assertive, and many peasant uprisings resulted. The whole situation, in which might and not legal right was the most valid argument, led to a rapid diminution in the owners' hold over and income from their manors until they were eventually totally eliminated by the end of the sixteenth century in a completely feudal system.



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II 141 168, III, 295 322, IV, 441 476 KOBATA Atsushi<sup>1</sup> 小葉田淳 Ashikaga Jidai Ryukyu to no Keizai tekı oyohı Seiji tekı Kankai ni tsuite (Concerning [Japan's] Economic and Political Relations with Ryukyu in the Ashikaga Period) 足利時代琉球との經濟的及び政治的關係に就いて

This long article is not presented in a very well digested manner, but Mr KOBATA has included a mass of detailed information of value to one with special interests in the topic. I can give but the barest indication of the contents here.

During the fourteenth century the traders of the Ryukyu (Ch Liu ch iu) Islands rose to prominence as middlemen in the general Far Eastern trade between China, Korea, Japan and the lands of Indonesia and Malasia. Foremost among the latter was Siam, which at this time was commencing a period of considerable prosperity and importance in international trade. Ryukyu trading ventures were in the hands of the kings and were carried on as accompanying features of embassies to foreign countries. In so far as Japan was concerned the Ryukyu navigators brought to her shores the drugs, herbs and incenses of the south and copper coins and other products of China, while they took back to China and sometimes to the more southern lands Japanese swords, screens, fans, lacquer, copper, gold and silver articles and the like.

Already in the fourteenth century many Ryukyu trading embassies and even some Siamese ones were going by way of the west coast of Kyushu to Korea. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the merchants of the port of Hakata 博多 in northern Kyushu and the feudal lords of western Japan were entering into this trade with Korea, and Japanese came to have an increasingly important place in this northernmost leg of Far Eastern trade.

In 1414 the Ryukyu court had its first direct relations with the Ashikaga *Bakufu*, and Ryukyu continued to send frequent embassies to Kyoto until 1466. The Ryukyu ships went up the Inland Sea as far as the neighborhood of modern Kobe, but because of the violent civil war which broke out in 1467 the Inland Sea became too dangerous for commerce, and as a result the embassies were discontinued. This was a great blow to the rising merchants

<sup>1</sup> Note that there are two errors in the transcription of his name as given in SZ.

of Sakai 堺, near modern Ōsaka, who, deprived of an essential supply of tropical products, were forced, themselves, to sail out in search of them by the more perilous route around the southern coast of Shikoku and Kyūshū.

The decline of the direct trade between Ryūkyū and central Japan after the discontinuance of the embassies spurred on the enterprising merchants of Kyūshū to enter more actively into the Ryūkyū trade. A still more important incentive was a realization of the growing importance of the trade itself. Foremost among the Japanese merchants trading with Ryūkyū were those of Hakata and the men of the Shimazu 島津 clan which held the southwestern corner of Kyūshū.

The Shimazu came to feel that they had special interests and rights in Ryūkyū at a relatively early time. Already in 1471 the *Bakufu* asked them to stop Sakai merchants from going there without permission, and by 1508 they were requiring permits issued by themselves for all ships going to Ryūkyū. Several decades earlier they had been interfering with the Hakata trade with the islands and had forced the Hakata merchants to avoid Shimazu waters and sail directly across the high seas to Ryūkyū. Shimazu traditions even claim that Ryūkyū was given to them by the Ashikaga in 1441. However, all these efforts to establish their suzerainty or win recognition of their special relations with Ryūkyū were rebuffed by the latter, which did not in the least admit Shimazu claims.

Strangely enough, by the beginning of the seventeenth century the people of Ryūkyū, who had hitherto recognized no political or cultural dependence on Japan, had adopted the legend that MINAMOTO Yoritomo 源為朝 (1139-1170), a famed Japanese warrior whose exploits have become almost legendary, escaped from his place of exile in the Izu Islands and came to Ryūkyū. Soon it was believed that his son had become the first king of Ryūkyū. AKIYAMA Kenzō 秋山謙藏 has argued that these ideas were the result of the desires of the Shimazu and Tokugawa, who were both offshoots of the Minamoto, to find a genealogical basis for their claims of suzerainty and were greatly furthered by the Shimazu conquest of Ryūkyū in 1609. However, Mr. KOBATA

proves that the legend existed in Japan already in the early decades of the sixteenth century and is therefore to be attributed in part to the Ashikaga, who were also Minamoto in origin, rather than to the Tokugawa. The legend was probably introduced to Ryukyu by Zen monks, who were a very important cultural link between the islands and Japan and who had great influence in Ryukyu at the time.

Hideyoshi played an important part in making Ryukyu a vassal state of Japan, for he regarded the islands as not differing from the other provinces of the realm. Although this was never actually the case his attitude no doubt encouraged the Shimazu in their claims and was a factor in bringing about their punitive expedition against Ryukyu in 1609.

The Ryukyu trade declined rapidly in the middle of the sixteenth century and soon came to an almost complete end. A chart of 102 recorded expeditions to Siam and other southern countries between 1419 and 1572 (pp 464, 465) shows a rapid decrease in numbers after 1530, while another chart of some Ryukyu exports to China between 1508 and 1586 (pp 471, 472) shows how the quantities of tropical products reexported to China dropped rapidly at this time. One reason for this was that the Europeans had come as new middlemen to the Far East. Another was that the Chinese were going themselves to the tropical lands, while the Japanese also were increasing their direct trade with China and other countries.

II, 209-244, III, 323-354. SHIMA Fudomaro 吉田不動麿 *Daio Sekai Hihan* (Comments on the Genealogy of the Tai Kings)<sup>1</sup>  
代王世係批判

Tai 代 was the dynastic name of the T'o-pa 拓跋 people in northern Shansi and Sui-yuan before they took that of Wei 魏. Mr. SHIMA has based his study on the assumption that they, like other tribes and families, after coming to eminence supplied themselves with a satisfactory genealogy and revised their history to conform better to their new importance. Therefore, all points in

<sup>1</sup> See below p. 205 and BOODEBERG *The Language of the T'o-pa Wei* *HJAS* 1 167-185.

which the dynastic history, the *Wei-shu* 魏書, which though written later was based primarily on Wei records, differs from the accounts of the other dynastic histories, he considers either doubtful or else clearly later fabrications.

The first fourteen rulers he dismisses as non-historical figures, and of Li-wei 力微, the first clearly historical T'o-pa leader, he says that only the two notices in the *Chin-shu* 晉書 of 275 and 277 are reliable and all the rest recorded about him in the *Wei-shu* has been added by later scholars. Li-wei's grandsons, the brothers I-ch'ih 猗駘 (d. 306) and I-lu 猗盧 (d. 316) commenced the southward pressure on the Chinese. The latter was given the titles of Duke (*Kung* 公) of Tai in 312 and Prince (*Wang* 王) of Tai in 315 by the Chin. Between 316 and 338 was a period of considerable disruption, which the *Wei-shu* account describes as a time in which the sons of I-ch'ih contested the throne with the descendants of Fu 弗, a younger brother of I-ch'ih and I-lu, who had ruled before them. Mr. SHIDA concludes that not only Fu but also his son Yu-lu 鬱律 were purely fictitious figures and that the *Sung-shu* 宋書 is correct in calling Shih-i-chien 什翼犍, who reunited the T'o-pa in 338, the grandson of I-lu rather than the grandson of Fu. He therefore concludes that the contest for supremacy was between the descendants of I-ch'ih and I-lu. However, he does not make clear why the *Wei-shu* should have falsified the genealogy of the family in order to make the future emperors descended from the nonentities, Fu and Yu-lu, rather than from the first acknowledged king, I-lu. One might rather suppose that Fu and Yu-lu were unimportant figures later listed among the rulers of the T'o-pa merely to enhance the prestige of their descendants.

I-huai 翳槐, the elder brother and predecessor of Shih-i-chien, Mr. SHIDA believes, was the Yu-chu 郁鞠 of the *Chin-shu* who was carried away in 336 to Yeh 鄴, the capital of the Hou Chao 後趙 in Honan, while most of the stories about him in the *Wei-shu* are either distorted history or are hits from the *Chin-shu* which have nothing to do with him or the T'o-pa. To preserve the honor of the dynasty the removal of Shih-i-chien to Ch'ang-an in 376 by the Ch'ien-Ch'in 前秦 is also omitted by the *Wei-shu*. Further-

more, it says that his son, Shih-chun 寔君, betrayed him and that Kuei 珪, the future first emperor of the dynasty, who was the son of Shih-chun's brother, Shih 寔, was a mere child at that time. This is all in striking contrast to the *Chin-shu*, which puts the crime on Kuei's shoulders. The *Chin-shu*, moreover, calls Kuei the son of Shih-i-chien and says that he too was taken into exile and only returned in 383. According to Mr. SHIDA the whole *Wei-shu* account is a fabrication to clear Kuei of the heinous crime of betraying his father.

Another point he brings out is that Kuei could not have changed the dynastic name to Wei in 386 when he ascended the throne, for the name was associated with the Yeh region, which he did not take until 398. He believes that Kuei assumed the title of emperor in 396 but changed the dynastic name to Wei in 398 when he was considering establishing his capital at Yeh. Mr. SHIDA also lists interesting examples of the use of *Shan-yü* 單于 for the rulers of the T'o-pa (pp. 343-345) and of So-t'ou 索頭 for the T'o-pa themselves by the Chinese (pp. 346-347).<sup>2</sup>

IV, 403-440; V, 611-637. HIRATA Toshiharu 平田俊春: *Gōso Kō* (A Study of the "Forceful Appeal" [of Japanese Religious Institutions]) 強訴考.

In the second half of the Heian period the large monasteries would brook no governmental restraints, and, when thwarted, their monks would march on the capital in force and compel the court to accede to their demands. Such "forceful appeals (*gōso* 強訴, written 噉訴 when Shintō deities and emblems were involved) were not successful simply because of numbers, for the peasants made similar demonstrations with no success, nor because of the military strength of the monasteries, which, though considerable, was not fully mustered for such occasions. Their success was the result of the religious authority of the monks over a religious and intensely superstitious nobility.

The authority of the monasteries rested partially on the status of the Buddhist church in the society of the time. In the early ninth century it was believed that Buddhism, as a force protect-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BOODBERG, *op cit.* pp 171, 184

ing the Imperial rule, was almost a branch of the government itself. However, in the succeeding decades the Buddhist church took an ever more important place in the national life and gradually developed from a mere protector of the state into an institution of equal importance with it, and Buddhism and the government became interdependent forces. In time Buddhism even became the more important member of the partnership, and the emperors and their government were considered to be wholly dependent on its laws and its virtues. Therefore, threats on the part of the monasteries to stop worship and prayer in behalf of the court were effective in forcing the weak court nobles to accede to their demands and was an especially potent argument in the hands of the monks of the Enryakuji 延暦寺, which was in a very special sense the guardian of the imperial line and the government.

However, only the Mii-dera 三井寺 and Kōyasan 高野山 stopped here. The other monasteries adopted a more positive means of coercing the court by carrying with them on their mass appeals at the capital portable Shintō shrines and divine emblems. The authority of the great Shintō shrines over the superstitious nobility was even greater than that of the monasteries. Consequently, the Usa Hachiman 宇佐八幡 Shrine and the Ise Shrine were quite successful in the middle of the Heian period in their appeals, whereas at that time the monasteries often were not. Therefore, the Enryakuji and the Kōfukuji 興福寺, which had aided the neighboring Hie 日吉 and Kasuga 春日 Shrines, respectively, in the latter's suits in 1087 and 1093, soon adopted the idea of using the Shintō paraphernalia of these shrines when they themselves marched on the capital, as shrines had been doing in their own suits since 987. Thus started the close cooperation between the Enryakuji and the Hie Shrine and between the Kōfukuji and the Kasuga Shrine.

The "forceful appeals" of the monasteries were opposed by the Emperor Go-Sanjō (1068-1072, d. 1073) and the regent, Fujiwara Moromichi 師通 (1062-1099). The latter even met them with force, and bloodshed ensued, but the early death of both these bold figures seemed significant to the superstitious nobles, and after them no one dared oppose the monasteries. Thus, in the



late Heian period, backed by the double authority of Buddhism and Shintoism, the monasteries easily won all their disputes with the court, which was powerless to withstand any of their demands. Meanwhile, the peasantry had been flocking to the protection of the shrines and monasteries, which readily accepted them and their lands. The religious institutions won resulting disputes with the local officials by bringing pressure on the central government. Not only did they expand in this manner, but they also effectively protected their peasants, who through these powerful institutions now easily won appeals, though formerly their mass demonstrations had been unsuccessful.

Ever since the ninth century the monasteries had been to a limited extent a law unto themselves. The great shrines, such as Usa and Ise had always been beyond the law, and now in the second half of the Heian period the monasteries also, through their own growing authority and through their union with the neighboring Shinto shrines, became increasingly states within the state. Therefore, they dared openly defy the government police officers, and they acted as refuges for those criminals and fugitives they saw fit to protect.\*

The monks of the Enryakuji, because of its strategic position on a mountain top near Kyôto, could easily march down upon the capital, but the Kôfukuji monks, less favorably situated at Nara, were forced to have recourse to a certain peculiar strategy of their own. As the family monastery of the Fujiwara, the Kôfukuji sought to achieve its ends at court by working through this all powerful family. In order to insure its complete control over the Fujiwara, as early as 1163 it began to expel from family membership individuals who did not heed its wishes. Thus it forced the Fujiwara into obedience by threatening them with "family excommunication."

When the warrior class came into dominance in the central government in the second half of the twelfth century, all changed. Lacking the blind faith of the nobility, the military men had no compunctions in seeking out criminals and enemies in any monastery whatsoever, and they were not to be coerced into obedience

\* [Cf. C. HAGUENAUER, *Lieux d'asile au Japon et en Corée* JA 225 (1934) 109-124.]

by the tactics of the monks. The Taira did not even stop at burning the Nara monasteries when they opposed them, and the Minamoto, though less violent, were no less adamant in refusing to recognize the extravagant claims of the monasteries.

V, 557-610; VI, 720-768. Hosm Takeo 星城夫: *Minsho no Sōun ni tsuite* (Concerning Water Transportation in the Early Ming Period) 1 明初の漕運について.

The Mongol Dynasty greatly complicated the problem of the transportation of tax grain to the capital by making the center of the realm Peking, far north of the main grain producing regions of the Huai and Yangtse basins. To bring the grain north they dug an important section of the Grand Canal, called the Hui-t'ung-bo 會通河, from the Wei 衛 River at Lin-ch'ing 臨清 through Chi-ning 濟寧 down to the Yellow and Huai River systems, but they found the transportation of the grain by sea to be on the whole the most effective system.

Hung-wu (1368-1398), the first of the Ming emperors, established his capital at Nanking, so the only grain transported to the north was to supply the armies campaigning at first in the Peking and then in the Liao-tung 遼東 region of southern Manchuria. Although some grain was taken by the Hui-t'ung-bo and other inland water ways, Hung-wu, like the Mongols, found transport by sea to be the best. It was entrusted to a special transport division of the military organization, and the men engaged in it received relatively good treatment with fixed monthly salaries and special compensations for work done. However, the natural hazards of the sea were many, and these together with the ravages of Japanese pirates jeopardized the whole sea transportation system.

To remedy the situation, it was decided to make more of the soldiers in Liao-tung self-supporting military colonists. Despite this, the annual quantity of grain imported by sea to the region continued to increase for a few years, and not until 1397 had peace and the success of the system of military colonists made Liao-tung self-sustaining.

<sup>1</sup> See below pp 202-4 and SHIMIZU 清水: *Mindai no Sōun* (Water Transportation in Ming Times) 明代の漕運, SZ, XXXIX, in.

After a succession war Yung lo (1403-1424) established the new Ming capital at Peking, thus creating once more the great problem of the transportation of tax grain to a distant capital. As before, the sea route was used as far as the Tientsin region, where the grain was stored and transferred to river boats, but another important grain route was by way of the Huai and Yellow River systems to the neighborhood of K'ai feng 開封, then overland some sixty miles to the Wei River and so on by water to Tung chou 通州, a few miles east of the capital. However, this inland route was almost as unsatisfactory as the sea route because of the great cost involved in the overland sector.

For this reason the Hui t'ung ho, which had been silted up since 1391, was redug in 1403. The new route soon proved so successful that in 1415 transportation of grain by sea was abandoned. Not only was the inland route less hazardous, but it was also much more efficient, for the inland boats averaged 20 *shih* 石 of grain per sailor to only 10 *shih* for the ocean vessels.

The transport system as organized in 1415 was a joint civilian and military system known as *chih yun* 支運, in which the tax payers were to take the tax grain to certain grain depots, where the transport divisions of the local garrisons took charge of it and then brought it to Peking. These depots were at first Huai an 淮安 in north central Chuangsu and Ch'ü ning, but later Hsu chou 徐州 in the northwestern corner of Chuangsu, Lin ching and Te chou 德州, the modern Te hsien 德縣 on the Wei River in northwestern Shantung, took the place of Ch'ü ning.

Already in 1418 Yung lo's northern campaigns had put such a strain on the military system that the transport units were inadequate for their task, and a large percentage of the tax grain was being taken all the way to Peking by the civilians. This work was considered part of the corvée system so the civilians were required to furnish their own supplies for the trip. Such expenses were not only ruinous to them, but the time lost by the peasants engaged in the work proved a serious menace to the economic foundations of the land. Therefore, the Emperor, Hsuan te (1426-1455) in 1429 had the military again assume the responsibility for the transport of all the grain from the southern depots to the capital.

In 1430 and 1431 greater reforms were made when an entirely new system known as *tui yun* 兌運, in which the military did the whole task of transportation, was inaugurated. It was ordered that the members of the military grain transport units from south of the Yangtse should take the tax grain of the region to the depots for certain specific remunerations called *hao mi* 耗米. In this manner the peasants could remain in their fields, and the military benefited from an added income. Soon the system was extended to the regions north of the Yangtse as well. The huge quantity of grain produced in Chekiang and southeastern Kiangsu was too much for the local military to handle, and a portion of it was still transported to Huai an by civilians. To reduce their task a new depot was created at Kua-chou 瓜洲 on the north bank of the Yangtse at the mouth of the canal system connecting with the Huai region. The excellent results of the reform of the *chih yün* system and the partial adoption of the *tui yun* system can be seen from the fact that the annual sum of between two and four million *shih* of grain reaching Peking between 1410 and 1420 jumped to an average of almost 5,700,000 *shih* between 1430 and 1434. In this way the serious insufficiency of grain at the capital, which had been felt for some time past, was overcome.

The new system required an increase from 120,000 to 160,000 men in the transport divisions of the local garrisons. As in the sea transport, the men received rather generous monthly salaries and special compensations for work done. In all, their lot was better than that of the ordinary garrison soldiers. Their lives, however, were full of hardships, although their authority over the peasantry was some compensation.

The civilians continued for some decades to bring about 40% of the tax grain to the depots, but in 1471 the military transport units of Huai an and Kua chow were ordered to go to Chekiang and southeastern Kiangsu to help with the transportation of the tax grain, and in 1475 all private transportation of grain to the depots was stopped. Thus, the military had at last taken over the whole of the work. This system continued in force for the remainder of the Ming dynasty.

VI, 671-719. TAKEUCHI Rizō 竹内理三: Bushi Hassei Shi Jō ni okeru Zaichō to Rusudokoro no Kenkyū (A Study of the *Zaichō* and *Rusudokoro* in the History of the Formation of the Warrior Class) 武士發生史上に於ける在廳と留守所の研究.

Already in the eighth century provincial governors were beginning to stay in the capital without ever going to their provinces. In the course of development of this system in the Heian period, the administrative organization of the lesser officials remaining at the provincial capitals came to be known as the *Zaichō* 在廳 and the officers themselves as *Zaichō* or *Zaichō-kannin* 官人. Orders known as *Zaichō-senji* 宣旨 or *Chōzen* 廳宣 were sent by the absentee governors to the *Zaichō*, which was subdivided into various bureaus for administrative purposes.

At the same time *mokudai* 目代, which were private representatives and assistants of the governors, became very important local officials when the governors themselves no longer went to their posts. The administration which grew up around these *mokudai* came in time to be known as the *Rusudokoro* 留守所. Of course the *Zaichō* and *Rusudokoro* were often to a large extent one and the same thing, but the system varied somewhat in all the provinces. For instance, in Yamato the name *Rusudokoro* never came into use, and the *mokudai* and the *Zaichō* always remained subservient to the orders of the Governor, while in Sanuki and Bungo the independent powers of the *Rusudokoro* were very broad.

On the whole the tendency throughout the Heian period was for the *mokudai* to grow in authority, but, since they were moved in accordance with the shifting of the governors, their local military strength remained slight. The *Zaichō-kannin*, on the other hand, though of little authority, grew in actual power. As the local gentry, who held posts in the district governments, tended to enter their ranks, and as the secondary officials of the provinces, from vice-governors on down, often remained permanently in the provinces and merged with the *Zaichō-kannin* class, the status of the latter was slowly raised. Furthermore, their unique opportunities for building up private estates or for becoming important officers on the large estates of the nobility and religious institu-

tions, as well as the gradual transformation of their posts into hereditary offices and their own development from civil into military officials all tended to increase the military force at their command. As a result, many of them became members of the warrior class, as is to be seen in the cases of such families as the Chiba 千葉, Miura 三浦, Chichibu 秩父, Hatakeyama 畠山, Kawagoe 河越, Oyama 小山, Yūki 結城, Naganuma 長沼, Kusano 草野 and Ōuchi 大内.

In the second half of the twelfth century the *Rusudokoro* and *Zaichō* gradually split apart, for the latter had often come to represent feudal military authority in the province, and the former continued to represent what remained of civil authority. The practice of giving provinces to families or to institutions for their revenue, which developed at the time, further complicated matters, as did also the new practice on the part of the *mokudai* of sending their own representatives rather than going themselves to the provinces. As a result of these conditions the *Rusudokoro* and *Zaichō* came increasingly to act independently of each other, as was already the case in Hizen in 1196.

VII, 817-845; VIII, 983-1013. Mori Katsumi 森克己: Nissō Kōtsū to Nissō Sōgo Ninshiki no Hatten (Japanese-Sung Inter-course and the Development of Mutual Knowledge between the Two) 日宋交通と日宋相互認識の發展.

This is another of Mr. Mori's excellent articles on various aspects of the relations between Japan and China in the T'ang and Sung dynasties.<sup>1</sup> Although here he devotes many pages to a discussion of the development of Chinese knowledge of Japan, the more interesting part of the article is his well documented exposition of the development of a strong national pride and sense of superiority on the part of the Japanese in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Knowledge of Japan during the T'ang Dynasty was obtained largely from the periodic Japanese embassies sent to the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> See my abstracts of two of these in *HJAS* 2 88-90 and in *Abstracts of Articles Appearing in Current Japanese Periodicals* (American Council of Learned Societies, 1935, pp. 52-59).

capital and from previous works treating of Japan, but the T'ang records show that their actual knowledge was quite limited, and much of it was considered doubtful, for they frankly stated that the reports of the Japanese concerning their own land could not be trusted. This was because the Japanese ambassadors, still following the precedent of Shōtoku Taishi, were consciously attempting to maintain the fiction of national equality with China, and therefore they sacrificed truth to their patriotic ardor.

In the early Sung period Japanese embassies no longer voyaged to China, but monks, such as the famous Chōnen 澄然 in 983, Jakushō 寂昭 in 1003, and Jōjin 成尋 in 1072, continued to make pilgrimages to China and were, together with Chinese merchants, the sources for the Chinese knowledge of Japan. These monks, like the official ambassadors before them, represented only the aristocratic classes of Japan, and consequently their accounts were true only of the life of the upper classes, but they were admirers of China and did not consider it necessary to boast falsely about their homeland. As a result, the Sung knowledge of Japan, as seen for example in the *Sung-shih* 宋史 account, which was apparently based on a work by Chōnen, was not only rather detailed but was also very accurate.

In the late Sung period Japanese traders began themselves to travel to China, and from them many more details, especially those concerning the common people of Japan, were learned. Japanese exports also became familiar objects in China, and the quantities of gold and silver among these exports led to the tales of the fabulous wealth of Japan which were incorporated into Marco Polo's work. In the last years of the dynasty when the Mongol menace was great, the Sung began to look on Japan, which had hitherto never been more than a tributary state of no great significance, with especial favor and as a possible ally. This new friendliness turned to actual admiration on the part of the remaining Sung loyalists when the Mongol invasion of Japan failed and the islands remained the one free land in that part of the world.

Despite the attitude of the official embassies, the Japanese throughout the Heian period were actually great admirers of all

things Chinese or, rather, all that was foreign. The products of the continent were much in demand, and in literature "Chinese" or "continental" were often almost synonymous with "excellent" or "good." However, in the late Sung period, this attitude was altered in many respects. Not only did the Japanese knowledge of China increase greatly as more monks went to the continent and as Japanese traders began to ply the high seas but also the reports these men brought back of the Sung showed a feeble dynasty threatened by extinction at the hands of the northern peoples. This reduced Japanese respect for China, while at the same time the rise of the military classes and the strong government they set up in place of the ineffective civil rule of the Heian court gave the Japanese a new confidence in themselves. They came to look upon their warriors and their arms as superior to all others. In the arts and sciences they felt a new national pride, and even stories about the admiration of the Chinese for the literary works written in Chinese by Japanese were current. At the same time they naturally took a new interest in their native literature and a greater pride in their own history. Most important of all, they adopted a strong attitude of superiority in their dealings with foreign countries and had the self-confidence to defy the undefeated Mongols. The failure of the latter in their attempt to subdue the islands further encouraged them in their newly found self assurance, and soon the Japanese mariners were so emboldened that they became themselves the pirate scourge of all neighboring waters.

VII, 846 866, VIII, 1014 1044, IX, 1178 1200 HINO Kaizahurō  
 日野開三郎 Nansō no Shihai "Kensen kokyo" oyobi "Kensen-  
 kanshi" no Kigen ni tsuite (Concerning the Origins of *Hsien*  
*ch'ien kung chu* and *Hsien ch'ien kuan tzu*, Paper Money of the  
 Southern Sung) 南宋の紙幣「見錢公據」及び「見錢關子」の起源に就  
 いて

Among the various types of paper money of the Southern Sung were *hsien ch'ien kung chu* 見錢公據 and *hsien ch'ien kuan tzu* 見錢關子, which were both first issued in 1159. Because of the deterioration of paper, they were valid for only two and three



years respectively and were then to be exchanged for new paper. They were issued in units worth from ten to one hundred strings of cash and were for the purpose of meeting military expenses in the lower Yangtse valley. They were exchangeable for metal currency at the capital *Ch'ueh-huo-wu* 推貨務, the Government Monopoly Bureau. Both these types of paper money were the outgrowth of similarly named governmental promissory notes issued by the Northern Sung, which together with other promissory notes and certificates helped to take the place of paper currency in the period. The major portion of Mr. HINO's article, written with his usual admirable clarity, is devoted to a study of these two types of promissory notes.

*Hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu* meant literally "official certificate of cash on hand" and came to be the equivalent of "promissory note of payment of actual cash." The name was often abbreviated to *kung-chu* or even *chu*. *Hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu* were issued in order to cover military expenses in Shensi, Hopei and Ho-tung 河東 (the modern Shansi), the border regions of the north, and were convertible into cash at the capital *Ch'ueh-huo-wu*. In 1083 they were already being issued in great numbers, and, while the original area of their use seems to have been Shensi, they soon spread to other parts of the northern frontier and later in lesser quantities to other regions of the empire. As time passed they seem to have been issued in increasing numbers.

The reasons for the introduction of *hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu* and for the rapid growth in their use are complex. On the one hand the government found the transportation of large sums of money to the border regions inconvenient and expensive, and the issuing of these promissory notes, payable at the capital, in order to cover military costs in the north was therefore a great saving. On the other hand the grain merchants of the north who supplied the armies there and who were therefore the chief recipients of the *hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu* found them a convenient method of bringing their monetary wealth south for the purchase of new stocks of grain. A bonus (*chia-jao chih-huan* 加饒支還, "repayment with interest") of a few percent of the face value of the notes, which was paid on conversion, was an added incentive to their

use, while the semi-official *Chiao-yin-p'u* 交引鋪, which was a currency exchange organ, no doubt handled *hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu* and therefore made their conversion into cash still simpler. Under these circumstances they naturally came to pass from hand to hand in the manner of ordinary currency, as did the other paper certificates of the government. Possibly at the desire of the merchants, who came more and more to regard them as simple money, *hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu*, which at first must have been of various denominations depending on the individual case, seem to have come to have certain fixed values such as five or ten strings of cash.

But *hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu* did not come into such great use merely for the sake of convenience. They met the very pressing demand for an adequate monetary medium of a money-poor region. Despite all efforts the output of copper coinage, the chief currency of the time, could not keep pace with the demand for it as trade increased and prices rose. One of the schemes of the government to overcome this situation was to substitute iron for copper coinage in Ssü-ch'uan and to limit the supply of copper currency in Shensi and Ho-tung drastically in order that more copper would remain in the other parts of the country and in order to reduce the leakage of coins from these border regions into foreign lands. One result of this policy was that iron currency fell to one tenth the value of copper in Ssü-ch'uan and to one third in Shensi and Ho-tung. It consequently became not only insufficient in quantity but also too heavy for large commercial transactions. These conditions brought about the use of the paper money called *chiao-tzū* 交子 in Ssü-ch'uan<sup>1</sup> and stimulated the use of government promissory notes in the northern regions.

Little is known of the *hsien-ch'ien-kuan-tzū*, but on the whole they seem to have been almost identical in nature and use with the *hsien-ch'ien-kung-chu*. As Dr. Katō 加藤 has already shown,<sup>2</sup> in Sung times *chiao-tzū*, *hui-tzū* 會子 and *kuan-tzū* were all synonyms

<sup>1</sup> See my abstracts of two articles on *chiao-tzū* taken from SZ 45 in *Abstracts of Articles Appearing in Current Japanese Periodicals*, 25 30

<sup>2</sup> See Koshi, Kaishi, Kanshi to yu Go no Imi ni tsuite 交子、會子、關子と云ふ語の意味に就いて. TG 6

originally meaning "complimentary token," for, according to Chinese practices, only if these tokens tallied with other tokens in the hands of the issuers were they honored. However, in time they came to mean simply "exchange token," so *hsien ch'ien kuan tzu* meant popularly "exchange token for actual cash." They were probably first issued by the government only shortly before the earliest known mention of them in 1115. However, since *chiao tzu* and *hui tzu* were issued not only by the government but also privately in Ssu ch'uan and in the Lin an 臨安 region of Chekiang, respectively, *kuan tzu* also may have been issued somewhat earlier by private groups. In 1331, early in the Southern Sung, they were again issued as governmental promissory notes to defray military costs in a certain area and were soon being used in all the most important regions of the land, but the total sum issued was never more than a fraction of the amount in circulation during the Northern Sung.

Mr HINO summarizes the points of comparison between *hsien ch'ien-kung chu* and *hsien ch'ien kuan tzu* as promissory notes and as paper money on pages 1198 and 1199. The result shows that they were identical in almost all details, and one wishes that Mr HINO had stressed more their dissimilarities and had shown more clearly his reasons for making such a definite distinction between the issues he calls promissory notes and those he terms paper money.

VII, 886 901 KONUMA Tadashi 小沼正 "Sokaiyoko" Shokka Mokuroku (The Table of Contents of [the Divisions on] *Shih huo* in the *Sung hui-yao kao*) 「宋會要稿」食貨目錄<sup>1</sup>

The *Sung hui yao-kao* 宋會要稿, recently published photographically, includes many divisions not to be found in earlier manuscripts of the *Sung hui yao*. Mr KONUMA surmises that the shorter form represents a revised form of the portions of the work which came into the hands of scholars in 1915 and the longer form the work after additions had been made based on new discoveries made about ten years later. Among the new portions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. TENG and BIGGERSTAFF *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works* Peiping 1936 142 143.

are ten divisions added to the original sixty divisions of the section on *shih huo* 食貨 ('economics'). The main portion of Mr KONUMI's study consists of two tables. The first is a detailed table of the contents of the first sixty divisions of this section and their subdivisions together with the chapters of the *I'ung lo-t'ien* 永樂人典 from which the material was taken. The second and more detailed table indicates the contents of the additional ten divisions, the source chapters in the *I'ung lo-t'ien*, the number of pages in each subdivision and just exactly which portions are new and which are merely repetitions of material already recorded in the first sixty sections.

IX, 1115-1151, X, 1223-1251. HARA Heizō 原平三 *Tenchugumi Kyōhei Shimatsu Kō* (A Study of the Circumstances of the *Tenchugumi* Uprising) 天誅相率兵始末考.

Mr HARA has made a detailed study of some aspects of the famous anti-Bakufu uprising of 1863 carried out by a small band of patriots known as the *Tenchugumi* 天誅組.<sup>1</sup> He points out that the 75 men who took part were primarily minor feudal retainers and upper class farmers and that the incident is a particularly significant precursor of the imperial restoration because it was these two classes which led in the overthrow of feudalism in Japan. He believes that next in importance to the court noble, NAKAYAMA Tadamitsu 中山忠九, was YOSHIMASA Toratnrō 吉村寅太郎, who as a petty Tosa retainer born into the upper class of farmers typified in himself the whole movement.

Though the conspirators went to Yamato to raise up the people to welcome the emperor on his proposed visit there, it was probable that they moved without the knowledge of those who were planning the imperial expedition to Yamato, for the latter, despite their schemes to overthrow the Bakufu, believed in working through the feudal lords and disapproved of the direct action of the *Tenchugumi*. Mr HARA believes that the reason for the seizure of the *Dai-kan'yo* 代官所 at Gojo 五條 in Yamato, which was in charge of the Bakufu lands in the province, was primarily the natural desire to strike at both the authority and the revenue

<sup>1</sup> See *IIJAS* 2: 131-132.

of the enemy at an almost undefended point. He also maintains that it was the sudden change in their fortunes occasioned by the decision of the imperial court to abandon its plans to go to Yamato and not any predetermined scheme which induced the *Tenchugumi* to attempt to raise more troops from among the 11,000 inhabitants of the extremely mountainous Totsugawa 十津川 region south of Gojo. Some of these people, who were all officially of the warrior class because of their early loyalty to the Tokugawa, responded to the call, but Mr HANA believes that it was their lack of enthusiasm and interest which brought about the utter rout of the *Tenchugumi* when they attacked the neighboring castle of Takatori 高取. The men of Wakayama 和歌山, Hikone 彦根, Koriyama 郡山 and Tsu 津, who pursued the rebels into the mountains of Yamato and either killed or captured all of them, felt some natural sympathy for the movement, but the men of Hikone, who were furthest from home, and the men of Wakayama, who had had disputes with the Totsugawa villagers over tax payments on the latter's exported lumber, administered some punishment to the people of Totsugawa.

IX, 1152-1177, X, 1252-1283. MIKAMI Tsuguo 三上次男 *Kindai Chukin ni okeru Moan hōkoku ko* (The *Méng-an-mou k'ō hu* of the Middle of the Chin Period) 金代中期に於ける猛安謀克戸

The *Méng an mou k'ō pu* 猛安謀克部 were groups of military colonists moved by the Juchen from eastern Manchuria into the conquered lands of north China during the middle decades of the twelfth century. There they formed the military mainstay of the Chin Empire. The individual families, which were called *Méng an-mou k'ō hu* 猛安謀克戸, despite certain economic privileges as the soldiers of the conquering race, soon fell into serious economic want in their new role as agriculturalists in a strange land. Their financial distress commenced with their first settlements in north China but became very acute in the reign of Shih tsung 世宗 (1161-1189), when it was repeatedly necessary to give them government grain to support them.

Among the many reasons for the economic plight of the Juchen in north China was their own inefficiency as farmers and their

extravagance. They had lived by hunting in their homeland and were therefore no match for the native Chinese as farmers. Moreover, confronted with the riches of China, they gave themselves over to extravagant living, excessive drinking and slothful habits. Chinese were hired to work their lands, and often through them they lost what little they had. Furthermore, since the confiscated or uncultivated land at the disposal of the dynasty was limited in extent, many had been settled on relatively poor soil, while others had scattered holdings among the Chinese with whom they were unable to compete. Money lenders also helped the process of separating the unwary Juchên and his land by what amounted to mortgage foreclosures. The Khitan uprising and a war with the Sung, which together lasted from 1161 until 1165, brought further economic ruin to the Juchên military colonists, for during these years they could not work their lands, and the compensations and rewards they received were not adequate.

Possibly the single greatest factor in the undermining of the Juchên colonists as a whole was the rapacity of their own leaders who took advantage of their government posts and power to build up huge estates at the expense of their weaker compatriots and the Chinese. In 1183, when it was thought that a trifle over four *ch'ing* 畝<sup>1</sup> of land was an adequate area for 25 Juchên individuals to live on, the imperial clan averaged four *ch'ing* apiece, and certain individuals owned as much as 500 *ch'ing*. Similarly, while some owned thousands of slaves and the imperial clan averaged 28 slaves per person, there was a general average of less than one slave for every three Juchên. Thus while a few of the invaders were extremely wealthy, the vast majority had sunk into poverty.

To meet the want of the colonists grain was often given them, but more positive measures were also undertaken. Officers were dispatched to encourage the agricultural activities of the Juchên. Laws were promulgated prohibiting the drinking of liquor during the season of work in the fields and excessive drinking at all times. Luxuries were forbidden. In the early years of Shieh-kuang's reign some attempts were made to meet the basic land problem by

<sup>1</sup> At present about 1512 *mu*.

moving a few of the colonists to more fertile lands and by bringing some of those scattered among the Chinese into more compact groups. However, by 1180 the problem had become so serious that such small measures were obviously inadequate and sweeping reforms were called for. These reforms, which were carried out in the next three years in the face of the stubborn opposition of the wealthier classes, centered around a complete census of the Juchên people and a survey of their land, slaves and cattle. Excessive areas of land owned by a single person were then confiscated, and a redistribution of the land was carried out on the principle that every 25 persons should have four *ch'ing* and four *mou* 畝 of land. At the same time many more were moved to better lands, and all but the rich were forced to cultivate their lands with their own labor.

The energetic measures of Sbi-h-tsung solved the land problems for a while, but during the next reign many of the same problems again arose. Unfortunately by then the Chin government was no longer so able to cope with the situation.

XI, 1325-1372; XII, 1435-1470. ONO Hisabito 小野壽人; Kinsei Busbidō ni tsuite (Concerning the *Bushidō* of Modern Times) 近世武士道に就いて.

In this long and somewhat diffuse article Mr. ONO discusses the transformation of the meaning of *Bushidō* 武士道 ("Way of the Warrior") in Tokugawa times. For the most part he lets quotations from the works of such authors as YAMAGA Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622-1685), KUMAZAWA Banzan 熊澤蕃山 (1619-1691), ARIMA Shinshichi 有馬新七, Hōjō Ujinaga 北條氏長, HASHIMOTO Sanai 橋本左内 (1834-1860) and YOSHIDA Shōin 吉田松陰 (1831-1860) tell their own story.

During the long peace of the Tokugawa Period, when the interest of the intellectual classes shifted from Buddhism to Confucian ethics, *Bushidō* developed away from the simple feudal code of conduct that it had originally been. As interpreted by the philosophers of the time, it made the Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety into ethical absolutes inherent in man's nature. In doing this it became at bottom the moral consciousness within

each person, and consequently the individual was emphasized because of the dignity of the individual moral character.

In this period it was believed that the ruling class of warriors was far superior to the other classes and that the peasants came next, while the merchants, who were concerned solely with profit making, were the lowest, since their motives were farthest removed from the *Bushidō* ideal of pure unselfish duty. However, at the same time the warriors and peasants were sinking in economic importance and often were in difficult financial straits, while the merchant class was rising to new heights of prosperity and power. In the face of these conditions many warriors accepted the moral standards of the commercial world, and some even went so far as to explain feudal relations in economic terms. The thinkers, to meet these new currents, propounded the theory that business for profit was right and natural and could be called the "Way of the Townsman" (*Chōnindō* 町人道) if the motive was to provide suitably for one's family and one's descendants and not the desire for personal gain or luxurious living. However, despite this partial justification of the profit motive, no one claimed absolute equality for the commercial morality with *Bushidō*. In summary one might say that Mr. Ono has demonstrated that there was a tendency towards a practical compromise between two forces, the one tending to raise business morals to the idealistic heights of *Bushidō* and the other tending towards the loss of *Bushidō* in a frank acceptance of the profit motive.

XI, 1373-1409; XII, 1471-1505. MATSUDA Hisao 松田壽男: Tokokukon Kenshi Kō (A Study of the T'u-yü-hun Embassies [to China])<sup>1</sup> 吐谷渾遣使考.

T'u-yü hun 吐谷渾, which centered around the Kokonor (Ch'ing-hai 青海) region, existed as a largely independent state from the fourth century to the seventh century, when it was finally destroyed. The ruling nucleus was composed of Hsien-pi

<sup>1</sup>Since Mr. Matsuda expressly states that he believes Drug-gu was a name for the Turks and was only applied to peoples of northern Tibet in error, and since he never mentions any embassies from China to T'u-yü-hun, one is surprised at the title of this article as translated into German on the rear cover, "Über die chinesischen Sendboten nach Drug-gu."



from southern Manchuria who had established their hegemony over the A tzü lo 阿貨房, which was a people of mixed origin who were said to have been originally the slaves of the Hsiung nu living in the neighborhood of the great trade route of western Kansu. These nomadic people had crossed over the Kansu panhandle into the Kokonor region and had set up their rule over the indigenous Tibetan Ch'iang 羌 peoples of the region, who were also primarily nomadic but who did have some agriculture and some towns. The rule of the conquerors over the Ch'iang was very loose, for they did not impose regular taxes but milked the richer natives and the traders when they needed revenues.

T'u yu hun had extremely close relations with the Northern Wei Dynasty after 431, and almost three times as many embassies from it are mentioned in the Wei shu as from any other western region.<sup>2</sup> Such embassies were of course only a manifestation of the extraordinarily flourishing trade relations between this region and north China. After 474 these embassies were particularly frequent, and sometimes as many as four went in a single year. It was probably during this same time of prosperity that the ruling classes of the T'u yu hun began to live in fortified towns as their revenues from trade increased. At the same time they seem to have been converted to Buddhism, which was the religion of both Chinese Turkestan to the west and of north China to the east.

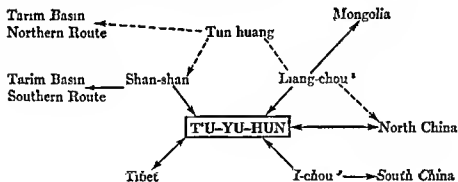
Much of the trade of the T'u yu hun was naturally as middle men between richer regions, and they also acted as convoys for other Central Asian traders on their way to China. In fact, at this time one of the main routes from north China to Chinese Turkestan and the west went through the Kokonor region, as is shown by the routes taken by the Chinese Sung Yun 宋雲 in 518, by Jñanagupta of Gandhāra in 535 and by many others. This was primarily because T'u yu hun was in control of Shan shan 善善 in the Lobnor region west of Tun huang 敦煌 and of Ch'ieb mo 且末 (Charchan) some 150 miles southwest of Lobnor and was deflecting commerce on the southern route of the Tarim

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Matsuda lists 19 western lands from which five or more embassies to the Northern Wei are recorded (pp. 1373-4).

Basin from these regions through T'u-yu-hun and away from the usual Kansu panhandle route. The Sui reconquered this sector of the great southern Tarim trade route, but the T'u-yu-hun soon won it back and held it until they were finally crushed by the T'ang in 635.

Of almost equal importance with their embassies to and trade with the Northern Wei were the T'u-yu-hun relations with the successive dynasties of south China, whose suzerainty they also freely accepted. Many embassies and trading expeditions came to south China from Ho-nan 河南 (or Hsi-ho-nan 西河南), as T'u-yu-hun was called by the south Chinese, but the chief importance of this small barbarian state to the southern dynasties was as a window to the west and north, for through T'u-yu-hun came embassies and traders from Mongolia and Turkestan which kept the south Chinese in contact with regions otherwise cut off from them by the hostile north. Thus, during this period very important routes led through the T'u-yu-hun state in the Kokonor region to both north and south China.

Mr. MATSUDA summarizes the main points of his article in a chart which is essentially the following:



\* Liang-chou 涼州, like Tun huang, was an important town on the Kansu panhandle route. I-chou 益州 is the modern Ch'eng tu 成都 region of Ssu-ch'uan.

A large part of this article is devoted to minute geographical studies which were necessarily omitted in this summary.

## SHIRIN 22 (1937)

I, 127 INABA Iwakichi 稻葉岩吉 Gishi Wajin den Kanken  
(A Consideration of the Section on the Wo People in the *Wei chih*) 魏志倭人傳管見

Dr INABA believes that the section on the Wo 倭, or Japanese, in the *Wei chih* 魏志 can be fully interpreted only when studied as part of the whole chapter on the "eastern barbarians" (*Tung i chuan* 東夷傳). With this starting point, he comes to some interesting, though not altogether, convincing conclusions. These are 1) that the Wei knew so much more about Japan than did the Han because of their conscious study of the geography, laws and customs of the lands of Manchuria, Korea, and Japan in connection with their great project in 245 to subjugate Koguri 高句麗, 2) that the first Wo embassy to the Wei in 238, only shortly after the Wei had established their authority in Liao tung and northwestern Korea, came as the result of a policy on the part of the Wei to win the friendship of the Wo and to eliminate the influence of their rival, Wu 吳, in Korea and in neighboring waters in preparation for their Koguri campaign, and 3) that the *Tung i chuan* in the *Wei chih* gives clear indications that the Wei considered all these people, from the Fu yu 扶餘 in the north to the Wo in the south, as branches of the same stock. This final conclusion, he thinks, is borne out by the variant forms of the Sumo 朱蒙 legend,<sup>1</sup> which were common to the continental peoples of this group and which may be connected with Japanese myths about the 'children of the Sun Goddess'.

Dr INABA disagrees with Mr Fujita in some points made by the latter in his *Shirin* article in 1936.<sup>2</sup> For example he believes that Ju mo 如墨 is not Yomo but a name for Izumo, as is also, strangely enough, the T'ou ma 投馬 in the *Wei chih*. The Wei nu 委奴 of the famous golden seal given by the Han to some Japanese state, he thinks, is a form of Yamato.

<sup>1</sup> See *HJAS* 2 40 ff

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* 52-54

I, 87 110 ONO Katsutoshi 小野勝年 *Toda ni okeru Ichu Kinrei no Kaishaku ni tsuite* (Concerning the Interpretation of a Certain Prohibition during the T'ang Dynasty) 唐代に於ける一禁令の解釋に就いて

In the *Shih huo chih* 食貨志 of the *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 (54) is to be found the statement, "At the beginning of the Cben yuan 貞元 (Period) (785?), it was forbidden for travellers to take a single coin out through the Lo ku 駱谷 and San kuan 散關 (Passes)" Kuwahara 桑原 has interpreted this as prohably one of the efforts to prevent copper coinage from being exported to foreign countries, but Mr Ono, although realizing that such efforts unquestionably were made, believes that this particular law had another significance. These two passes led from the capital region of the Wei 渭 Valley in Shensi southward to the Han and Yangtse regions and also towards Ssü ch'uan. They were used as the route towards the land of Nan chao 南詔 in the Yunnan region as well as one possible route to Tibet (T'u fan 吐蕃). In 785, during a lull in hostilities, there was prohably trade with these two lands, but, since these were not the last passes between them and China but were between the capital region and the rich and prosperous south, Kuwahara's explanation hardly seems plausible. Mr Ono therefore believes that the prohibition was simply for the purpose of stopping the export of coinage from Shensi. In the first half of the eighth century there took place in China a partial transition from a barter to a money economy, and the demand for money was greatly increased by the inauguration of the *liang shui* 兩稅 tax system in 780, which required payment in coinage for the most part. These factors produced a serious shortage of money in Shensi as well as in other regions. At the same time the increasing tendency of the provincial political magnates to become more or less independent rulers, resulting in a growing sense of separatism in various regions of China, led to surprising prohibitions of the export of coins beyond provincial borders into other parts of the empire. Such laws were obviously harmful to the economy of the land as a whole and were simply to overcome local insufficiencies of coinage without regard to the welfare of China as a nation. The law in question seems to have been one of these prohibitions.

I, 187-193. YONEKURA Jirō 米倉二郎: *Fukushū no Ryūkyū-kan* (The *Lau-ch'iu-kuan* of *Fu-chou*) 福州の琉球館.

Ch'uan-chou 泉州 in Fukien, the Zaitun of the Europeans and an important port since T'ang times, was the official port for the Ryūkyū tribute embassies, which first came to the Ming in 1372. Because *Fu-chou* 福州 was closer to Ryūkyū and because most of the Chinese sent by the Ming to Ryūkyū were from that region, in 1468 *Fu-chou* replaced *Ch'uan-chou* as the official port for the embassies. Mr. YONEKURA has made a detailed study of the buildings constructed there to receive these embassies and has included both maps and pictures. The buildings were those of the *Chin-kung-ch'ang* 進貢廠 for the "tribute" and those of the *Jou-yuan-i* 柔遠驛 for the men themselves. By Ch'ing times the first of these two categories of buildings seems to have disappeared. For a while after the annexation of Ryūkyū by Japan the *Jou-yuan-i* buildings seem to have been used for stores selling Ryūkyū products and for a club, known as the *Liu-ch'iu-hui-huan* 琉球會館, for men from the islands.

II, 264-304. TOYAMA Gunji 外山軍治: *Tōdai no Sōun* (Water Transportation in T'ang Times)<sup>1</sup> 唐代の漕運.

Already in the Han Dynasty the inability of Shensi to provide grain for the capital was felt, and under the T'ang the problem became much more acute. In fact the life of not only the court but of the whole province as well came to depend to a large extent upon the grain brought from the Huai and lower Yangtse Valleys. This was true to a certain extent in the seventh century, but it was in the eighth century that the increasing costs of the brilliant court and the more complex military system made the problem of the transportation of tax grain one of vital importance.

The system had been to have the tax payers transport the grain at their own cost up the Pien River and then up the Yellow and Lo 洛 Rivers to Lo-yang 洛陽. From there the government

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of some of the same points and various related problems see my abstract of HAMAGUCHI The Relationship Between the "Tribute Rice" from Chiang-huai and the *Ti shui* During the Reign of Hsuan tsung of the T'ang Dynasty (*Abstracts of Articles Appearing in Current Japanese Periodicals*, 20 24 Taken from SZ 45 1, 11). See also above pp 183-5

took it overland to Shan-chou 陝州, the modern Shan-hsien 陝縣 on the Yellow River seventy odd miles airline west of Lo-yang, and from here the water route by the Yellow and Wei Rivers was resumed. The detour by way of Lo-yang was made in order to avoid the dangerous San-mên 三门峡 sector of the Yellow River. In 733 P'ei Yao-ch'ing 裴耀卿 revised this system in two ways. He reduced the burden on the tax payers by limiting their haul to the point where the Pien leaves the Yellow River, and he had the grain taken all the way to Ch'ang-an by water except for a short detour around San-mên itself, thus reducing the costs of the overland haul considerably.

In 737 P'ei's system was dropped in favor of the old system, thus again imposing a heavier burden on the rice producing regions. During the period of the revolutions following 755 the route by the Pien River had to be abandoned, and the grain was taken up the Yangtse and its tributary, the Han River, and then overland across the mountains of southern Shensi, but, with the gradual return of peace, Liu Yen 劉晏 in 764 started a new and more permanent reform of the system of water transportation. First he reopened the Pien River route. Then with the profits of the salt monopoly he built grain boats and organized the whole system of transportation from the southeast to the capital as a government enterprise. This of course greatly reduced the burden on the people, who did not even have to pay for the service as they did in Ming times. Furthermore, the professional boat men of the government, trained for their own sector of the route, and the government boats, especially built for each type of river, were much more efficient than the men and boats of the poorly organized private transportation system. In fact especially constructed boats and experienced river men were even able to take the grain up the river past San-mên, with the result that the whole trip could be made by water. Strategically placed granaries provided an ample supply of grain for transport at any moment when the river conditions were favorable. Therefore long and unnecessary delays because of high water on the Yellow River and low water on the Pien River were avoided. There was adequate supervision of the work as well as sufficient military pro-

tection The use of sacks to carry the grain proved another saving and the double use of the boats for grain and salt was a further economy In fact the whole system proved so efficient that the surpluses stored in the granaries became too great The system was a model for future generations, but in later years it was often disrupted by revolutions until finally it broke down completely with the fall of the dynasty

II 381 396 OGAWA Hitoto 小川裕人 Tetsuri no Juchi ni tsuite (Concerning the Home of the T'ieh li) 鐵利の住地に就て

There have been several theories as to the home of the T'ieh li 鐵利 branch of the Mo ho 靺鞨 of northern Manchuria who became known to the Chinese in the first half of the eighth century, but Mr OGAWA advances a new and seemingly plausible theory He believes that the T'ieh li were a branch of the Hei shui 黑水 Mo ho who were themselves situated not in the neighborhood of the modern I lan 依蘭, some 140 miles down the Sungari from Harbin, as some have supposed, but still farther to the northeast near the juncture of the Amur and the Sungari Because the T'ieh li were undoubtedly west of the Hei shui, and for numerous other reasons he believes that T'ieh li fu 鐵利府 was the same as Te li chen 德理鎮, later known as Te lin ch'eng 特鄰城 and was in the I lan region Because of their proximity to the state of Po hai 渤海 in southern Manchuria and because of their domination by it the T'ieh li probably became more civilized than their neighbors to the north and east and therefore achieved preeminence among them and became known by the Sung as the first of the so called Five Lands (Wu kuo 五國) of the region The name of the T'ieh li, or T'ieh tien 鐵甸 as some Sung records have called them Mr OGAWA believes was a Tungusic word meaning 'head' or 'above,' which, he thinks corresponded to the contemporary Chinese name for I lan Wu kuo t'ou ch'eng 五國頭城, the Head City of the Five Lands

<sup>1</sup> The Japanese title on the outside cover is Tetsuri Makkatsu ni tsuite (Concerning the T'ieh li Mo ho) 鐵利靺鞨に就て

III, 455 481 UCHIDA Gimpū 内田吟風 *Gisho Joki toku ni sono Sekai Kiji ni tsuite* (Concerning the Introductory *Ti chi* 帝紀 of the *Wei shu* and in Particular its Genealogical Notices) 魏書序紀特に其世系記事に就て

As a subtitle indicates, this article is devoted to a criticism of Mr Shida's SZ article reviewed above (pp 178 80). Since Mr UCHIDA rejects the latter's premise that the *Wei shu* account is probably doctored and is therefore less reliable than notices concerning the early T'o pa in the other dynastic histories, he naturally comes to very different conclusions, and the whole article in fact is simply a refutation of almost all of the topics discussed in my review of the other article as well as several other points I omitted. Naturally the argument is not to be resolved until the relative accuracy of the various dynastic histories in their treatment of the early T'o pa rulers is definitely decided on the grounds of date, sources, comparative criticism, objectives and other criteria.

Let it suffice to note a very few of Mr UCHIDA's conclusions. He denies completely the identification of I hua<sup>1</sup> with Yu chu on the grounds that, though the latter was called a So t'ou, by no means all of the peoples so designated were T'o pa. He points to the notice of Shih chun's murder of his father, Shih i chien, in the former's biography in the *Wei shu* as proof that the historians were not attempting to conceal the facts. However, one might reply that the absence of mention of the patricide in the *ti chi* shows that at least in this section there were clearly purposeful omissions. He also maintains that it was K'u tu 窟咄 a son of Shih i chien, and not the latter or Kuei, who was taken to Ch'ang an. When he does not find anything suspicious in the beginning of Li wei's reign in the year 220, which saw the end of the Han dynasty, even though this would mean that Li wei lived to the ripe age of 103, one is surprised at his credulity.

III, 606 619 NAITO Shigenobu 内藤戊申 *Shitsu no Rokka Nitai no Ron ni tsuite* (Concerning the Theories of the *Liu chia* and *Erh t'i* in the *Shih t'ung*) 史通の六家二體の論に就いて

LIU Chih chi 劉知幾 of the first half of the T'ang Dynasty wrote the *Shih tung* 史通, a general survey of Chinese history



and historiography, in which there are two chapters entitled *Liu chia* 六家 and *Erh t'í* 二體, which are the key to his attitude towards history writing. The *Liu chia* ("Six Schools") are his divisions of the various types of histories written in the past. Mr NAITO summarizes Liu's attitude towards each of them and adds his own criticisms. The *Liu chia* were named after the original histories written in each style. These, together with P'u Ch'í lung's 浦起龍<sup>1</sup> more or less accurate characterizations of each, are: 1) *Shang shu* 尚書 ("record of speeches and statements"), 2) *Ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 ("record of facts"), 3) *Tso chuan* 左傳 ("compilation by years"), 4) *Kuo-yu* 國語 ("division by countries"), 5) *Shih chi* 史記 ("record [of reigns] and biographies throughout antiquity"), 6) *Han shu* 漢書 ("record [of reigns] and biographies of a limited period"). Liu seems to have had no thoroughly logical reason for this division, and his only important criterion is that the styles which have survived are for that very reason the best.

In the *Erh t'í* ("Two Forms") he discussed the two remaining commendable and mutually complimentary styles of history writing, the "compilation by years" style, first found in the *Tso-chuan*, and the "records (of reigns) and biographies" styles of the *Shih-chi*, which were perfected in the *Han chi* 漢紀 of HSUN Yueh 荀悅 and in the *Han shu*, respectively. These two styles, he believed, should be combined in the same work. Liu's views, Mr NAITO thinks, are primarily significant as an expression of the general historical attitude of his time.

IV, 688-709 FUJITA Motoharu 藤田元春 *Gishi Wajin den ni mieta Isoshi no Ichizoku* (The Isoshi Clan as Seen in the Chapter on the Wo People in the *Wei-chih*) 魏志倭人傳に見えた伊勢の一族

Mr FUJITA with characteristic disregard for phonetic laws and with his usual ready imagination comes to the conclusion that the four envoys who, according to the *Wei-chih*, went from Japan

<sup>1</sup> His *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 史通通釋 is the outstanding commentary on the *Shih-t'ung*. See the bibliography of such works pp. 608-609. Mr Naito has another similar study of a famous Chinese historian *Ch'eng Chiao* 鄭樵 in the new Kyōto Imperial University journal *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 II: 1.

to the continent in the fourth and fifth decades of the third century were all members of a certain Isoshi clan of northern Kyushu. The names of two of these envoys he cites as evidence. Thus *Wo tsai ssu wu yueh* 倭載斯烏越 he reads as Isoshi (or Izushi) no Oe (or Ue) and *I sheng ch i yeh* (i) *hsieh kou* 伊聲耆掖耶狗 as Iseshi no Isoko. The existence of this clan he feels is proved by the notice in the *Nihonshoki* under the year 199 recording that *Itote* 五十連手, the lord of Ito 伊都 in northern Kyushu, was given the name of Isoshi 伊蘇志, and he links the name with Izushi 出石 in Tajima.

Mr. FUJITA also believes that the character *t ui* 倭 in the *Wei chih* is not an error for 倭, as has been supposed, but is the equivalent of the Japanese word *tsu* (a place to cross the water) and therefore refers to north Kyushu across the straits from Korea. To prove his point he cites its use in a Sung edition of the *Tai ping-yu lan* 太平御覽 preserved in Japan in a passage quoting the *Hou han shu* on the *Wo*. North Kyūshū, he believes was known as *Tsu no Kuni* 倭奴國 (Land of Tsu), as it is called in the *Pei shih* 北史. The meaning of *tsu i jen* 子夷人, which the Japanese used for themselves according to the *Pei shih*, was 'men of Tsu (or Tsu i)', he asserts. This was but natural if the Japanese envoys to China were all of the Isoshi clan of north Kyushu. He claims that the use of *Wo* 倭, an abbreviation for Yamato according to him for northern Kyushu is a later error and therefore proves that the famous golden seal with the name 倭奴 on it is not authentic.<sup>1</sup> Mr. FUJITA's reasoning throughout is so clearly unreliable that no refutation of it is necessary.

IV, 710-723. *Tai Keigo* 田井啓吾 *Shoen Hattatsu Katei no Ichu kosatsu* (A Study of the Development of Manors [in Japan]) 莊園發達過程の一考察

Mr. *Tai* in a well documented article points out that in works treating the development of the manorial system in Japan too much emphasis has hitherto been laid on the clearing of new tracts of land by the religious institutions and great families which owned the estates. In reality the estate owners engaged in few land

<sup>1</sup> See page 200

clearing enterprises themselves, as their very scattered holdings in the early days clearly show. It was primarily the peasants who opened up new land for cultivation, and already in the Nara period the owners of the large manors were obtaining this land from them through purchase and sometimes through bequests, while in the course of the Heian period they increasingly expanded their holdings by simple seizure under one pretext or another.

IV, 724-729. OSHIBUCHI Hajime 鷺淵一: Ryōyō Rama-fun Hibun no Kaisetsu Hosei (Corrections to "An Interpretation of the Stele of a Lama Tomb in Liao-yang") 遼陽喇嘛墳碑文の解説補正.

In the collection of articles in tribute to Dr. Naitō, known as the *Naitō Hakase Kanreki Shukuga Shinagaku Ronsō* 内藤博士還歴祝賀支那學論叢, Mr. OSHIBUCHI had a monograph on two inscriptions of 1630 and 1658 written in memory of a Tibetan lama who had come to Manchuria. As evidence of the early relations between the Manchu court and lamaism and as early examples of the Manchu language, they are of considerable interest. In the present article he adds some further notes about the first of these inscriptions and some supplementary material on the lama himself taken from the *Man-wên-lao-tang* 滿文老檔.

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER.

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## FRENCH EXCAVATIONS IN INDO-CHINA AND AFGHANISTAN\* (1935-1937)

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MUSÉE GUIMET

In June 1938, the Guimet Museum of Paris opened new exhibition rooms in which were grouped together the results of three expeditions. The first two of these expeditions were conducted in Indo-China in 1936 by M. Philippe STERN, Associate Director of the Guimet Museum, and by Mme de CORAL RÉMUSAT, of the staff of the same museum. The third expedition was carried out by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (D. A. F. A.) [Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan] in 1936 and 1937; it comprised Mme HACKIN, MM. Jean CARL and Jacques MEUNIER, and was under the leadership of M. Joseph HACKIN, Director of the Guimet Museum. While differing considerably both as regards their aims and the conditions attending their accomplishment, these three expeditions are of equal importance from the archaeological point of view.

The expeditions to Indo-China had a fourfold purpose: to verify on the spot the stylistic hypotheses concerning Khmer art advanced by M. STERN during the past ten years; to take a number of photographs of architectural and decorative details; to select a certain number of objects which the General Government of Indo-China was intending to send to the Guimet Museum; lastly, to participate in the excavations conducted by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient at Angkor. All these four aims were achieved; besides the decided interest which the occasion presented for the Guimet Museum to enrich its Čam and Khmer collection, which already in 1935 was the finest in Europe, the fact of excavating the ground of Angkor was an enticing prospect. M. STERN left with a definite aim: to excavate the site of the Phnom Kulen, which had been identified on Mt. Mahendra, the

\* Translated from French under the direction of the editor.

capital of Jayavarman II (end of 8th-middle of 9th century).<sup>1</sup> To understand fully the significance of that aim, it is necessary to restate the problem briefly: the Mahendraparvata was that "Mountain of the Great Indra" upon which was established for the first time, if the stone inscription of Sdok Kak Thom is to be believed, the cult of Devarāja.<sup>2</sup> It is well known that the first care of the Khmer rulers, as also that of the rulers of India, was to provide a justification of their royal mission; Jayavarman II appears to have needed it more than anyone else, for it seems that the end of the eighth century was a period of disturbances and of anarchy. The Khmer kingdom would even have fallen at that time under the suzerainty of the empire of Śrīvijaya (Sumatra-Java). Whether a legitimate prince or a usurper, Jayavarman II "returned from Java" to restore the Khmer power; he quite naturally desired to free the Khmer kingdom from the foreign yoke, and that is why he instituted in 802 the worship of Devarāja, which made him independent and a tributary only of the divinity. To establish these important rituals, he selected a natural eminence bearing the name of the King of the Gods, Indra, whose celestial city is the ideal model of the city of a cakravartin king (universal ruler); upon it he accordingly erected a mountain-temple, and a Brahmin versed in the art of magic established, at his command, "for the enhancement of the world, the magic rites which bear the name of Devarāja" (God-King). According to this ritual, a Linga (a phallic emblem of Śiva) was consecrated as the royal Linga and the personality of the king bestowed upon it.<sup>3</sup>

To hold this at once divine and royal substitute, Jayavarman II had a shrine built on the Mahendraparvata, situated at a distance of 40 kilometers, as the crow flies, northeast of Angkor Thom. It was a mountain-temple whose cosmological symbolism

<sup>1</sup> G. COEDÈS, *Les capitales de Jayavarman II, Etudes cambodgiennes XX, BEFEO* 28 113 ff

<sup>2</sup> L. FÉROT, *BEFEO* 15, pt. 2

<sup>3</sup> G. COEDÈS, *Notes sur l'apothéose au Cambodge, Bull. Commiss. arch. de l'Indoch. (BCAI)*, 1911, p. 45—Ph. STERN, *Le temple-montagne khmère et le culte du Linga et le Devarāja, BEFEO* 31 611



is evident: an architectural representation of Mount Meru, a holy mountain, the pivot of the world, this temple is formed by a tiered pyramid at the summit of which stands the sanctuary, even as Śiva is seated at the summit of Mount Meru; it is the central point of the kingdom, which is itself the earthly replica of the holy city, and thanks to it the king is truly a universal ruler, since the royal Linga is at the very center of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> The formula of the mountain-shrine is not exclusive to the Khmer kingdom: this cosmological symbolism is found also in Outer India: in Burma, in Siam and in Java under more or less similar forms. Jayavarman II may have borrowed it from Java, where he appears to have resided and where the Bārābuḍur represents a dynastic mountain-shrine in a very elaborate form. It appears that, even before the reign of Jayavarman II, there was already a connection between the cult of the Linga and the kingship;<sup>5</sup> in that case, the cult of Devarāja must have bestowed upon that tradition an undeniably official character.

It is quite natural that M. STERN should have wished to explore a spot so full of history and still rather neglected. That desire was strengthened by the fact that there was as yet an extremely limited number of plastic documents that could be placed around the date 802 A.D. An examination of the photographs which reproduced the remains of the Phnom Kulén known in 1935 had convinced M. STERN that they belonged in fact to a style intermediate between the style of the eighth century and that of the end of the ninth; the theory of the identity of the Mahendraparvata with the present site of the Phnom Kulén was to be confirmed by excavations. The search initiated by M. STERN, and in which he took part, confirmed the importance of the Phnom Kulén for the evolution of Khmer art: it was possible to establish that the art of the seventh century and of the beginning of the eighth was logically related to that of the ninth, and thus we have hence-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. in this connection: J. PRZYLUCKI, *La ville du cakravartin*, *Revue d'Orientalisme* 5 (1937), and The Sailendravamsa, *The Greater India* 2. 1. 25. Cf. also P. MUS, *Le symbolisme à Angkor Thom: le "Grand Miracle" du Bâyon*, *Compte-rendus des séances de l'année 1936 à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. AUBOYER, *L'Indochine* (in *Encyclopédie Quillet, Histoire des Religions*).

forth filled a gap which made the beginning of the artistic production of the site of Angkor incomprehensible \*

Jayavarman II had caused five statues of Visnu to be erected upon the Mahendraparvata, no doubt because Visnu is the perfect symbol of the cakravartin whom every king was to aspire to resemble, indeed to identify himself with him. Among the items excavated at the Kulen by Ph STERN and brought by him to the Guimet Museum, two statues of Visnu represent this henceforth clearly definable style: they combine the hieratic spirit with highly skilful technique. The male garb consists of a smooth loin cloth like that of the seventh century, but already it has, like that of the tenth century, a cascade of folds in front in the shape of a double anchor. The female dress, now represented at the Guimet Museum by a large statue, bears the same signs of transition: smooth skirt of the seventh century, pleated flap falling over the side, and several long vertical folds in front, which were to cover the entire skirt in the tenth century. The head and face likewise bear the characteristic traits of the seventh century and foreshadow those of the tenth. From the standpoint of decoration, it is incontestable that the reign of Jayavarman II brought a genuine renewal, foreign influences, coming chiefly from Java, are noticeable in the lintels of which a splendid example is now preserved at the Guimet Museum. Lastly, the little columns also bear out the fact that the square form, represented at the Guimet Museum, is characteristic of the style of the Kulen. This collection of sculptures was grouped with others originating from various Khmer sites and from Čampa and were the fruit of the expeditions of M STERN and Mme DE CORAL REMUSAT, special mention should be made of a fronton of Banteai Srei (a little temple dating from 967 A D), which has been studied by M COEDÈS †

The program of the D A F A was very full and arranged so as to permit taking the utmost advantage of the seasons: from September to December 1936, preliminary explorations were car-

\* Cf. PIERRE DUPONT, *L'Art du Kulén et les débuts de la statuaire angkoriennne*, BEFEO 36 415 ff.

† G. COEDÈS, BEFFO 32 81.

ried out in ancient Scistan; the winter of 1937 was devoted to excavations at Kunduz in ancient Bactria; during the spring and summer of 1937 several places were opened at Begram, Shotorak and Fundukistan.<sup>9</sup> In Scistan, M. GIRSHMAN, temporarily associated with the D. A. F. A., explored the deep layers of the ground and reached a depth of fifteen meters, the level corresponding approximately to the year 1000 B. C. Moreover, the other members of the expedition explored into the very center of the sand desert which today covers a region that was once inhabited; from that region the D. A. F. A. brought back pictures of the Moslem citadel of Sar-o-tar built upon foundations dating from the third century of our era.

The excavations at Begram, a city 80 kilometers north of Kābūl and identified with ancient Kāpīsi, were particularly fruitful. This city flourished from the first to the fourth century of our era, under the domination of Kuṣāna rulers. It was known by Hsuan-tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who gives a clear description of it;<sup>10</sup> the site was mentioned in 1833 by Charles MASSON, who provided some excellent documents of his explorations.<sup>11</sup> The excavations conducted in 1936 in the bazaar quarter yielded only material of types already known; the enclosure opened in 1937, on the contrary, in room No. 10, which was walled in, disclosed an exceptional treasure: bronzes of purely Greek style, glassware of Syrian make, and ivories with Indian decorations. The removal of these pieces, a very delicate task, was entrusted to Mme HACKIN. Among the bronzes discovered there, may be mentioned a steelyard in the shape of Minerva (?); in the head, which is hollow, the refuse grain was poured. This piece, now at the Guimet Museum, is Greek in style and probably dates from the 2-3rd centuries of our era.<sup>12</sup> Another remarkable item, allotted to the museum of Kābūl, is a dress shield protected by an outer

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. HACKIN, *Les Travaux de la D. A. F. A., compte-rendu sommaire* (septembre 1936-avril 1937), *RAA* 12, 1.—and J. HACKIN, *The Work of the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan*, *Indian Art and Letters* 12, No. 1, p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> FOUCHER, *Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hsuan tsang en Afghanistan*, *Etudes asiatiques* 1.

<sup>11</sup> In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1834-1836.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. BABELON & BLANCHET, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale*.

layer of glass, it is adorned in the middle with a Gorgon mask which is surrounded by dolphins in repousse. The technique of this shield is particularly interesting, because the tails and fins of the dolphins are movable and form counterweights with little plummets concealed on the reverse side of the shield. When the shield was moved, it must have glittered in the sun and produced at the same time a sound calculated to beat the rhythms of the war dances. The pictorial theme represented on this shield was frequent at the end of the Hellenistic period and during the Roman era.

The glassware represents a great variety of techniques: it is blown, cut, colored and even embossed. The invention of blown glass is of Syrian origin and is placed around the end of the first century B.C. From Tyr, Sidon and Alexandria the first pieces of glassware were diffused towards western Europe on the one hand and towards Asia on the other. Taking certain glass objects discovered in Gaul and in the Rheinland as a basis of comparison, M. HACKIN was able to date those of Begram between the first and fourth centuries of the Christian era.<sup>12</sup> The most interesting among them are certain ichthyomorphic phials whose origin is almost surely Syrian<sup>13</sup> and of which numerous replicas have been found at Cologne.<sup>14</sup> But the rarest are the painted glasses, inasmuch as dwelling in the ground usually affects enamel colors, several of them were donated to the Guimet Museum. Their decoration, which has preserved all its freshness, is distinctly Hellenistic: most frequently it represents a combat between a Thracian and a Samnite gladiator.<sup>15</sup>

It is the ivory and bone plaques, however, that without doubt constitute the rarest find made at Begram: grouped together on the south side of the same room (No. 10) as the bronzes and glassware, these ivories adorned jewel caskets of soft wood. Between the frame of the caskets and the plaques which adorned them

<sup>12</sup> Cf. MORIN-JEAN *La verrerie en Gaule et dans l'empire romain*.—Anton *Kisa Das Glas im Altertum*.—Robert SCHMIDT *Das Glas*.—Gustav EISEN *Glass etc*

<sup>13</sup> Syria 1920 art. by DUBAUD and CONTENAU

<sup>14</sup> See especially MORIN-JEAN *op. cit.* p. 129

<sup>15</sup> HERON DE VILLEFOSSE *Revue archéologique* 1874

were strips of mica painted green in the cut-outs of the design; the entire mounting was fastened to the frame by means of copper and iron nails. From the study of these ivories M. HACKIN has drawn several conclusions concerning the technique and the decorative motifs. As regards the motifs, it is observed that they all center around productions of Sāñcī (stūpa 1), Mathurā, and Amarāvātī; certain themes, of Mesopotamian origin, were obviously retouched by India, and it must be remembered that an inscription on the southern gate of Sāñcī pays tribute to the guild of ivory workers of Vidisa (Bhilsa, in the modern state of Gwalior).<sup>16</sup> While the existence of this corporation in India is known to us by this inscription, no ivory of an early period has yet been found in Indian territory; those of Begram date from the first to the fourth centuries of the Christian era, and the connection with the ivory workers of Sāñcī is made certain by the similarity that can be observed between the writing of the inscription of Sāñcī and that of several characters carved on the reverse of the Begram plates. As for the iconographic themes represented on these plaques, they are very diverse; the most remarkable is perhaps that of the anguiped, of classical origin, contaminated by the theme of Gilgamesh with the wild beasts, or of Enkidu protecting the cattle, of Mesopotamian origin and more specifically Sumerian. One may profitably compare, as M. HACKIN did, the Begram theme with that of the Pergamum frieze,<sup>17</sup> with that of Romanesque art<sup>18</sup> and with that of Mathurā.<sup>19</sup> Monsters abound in the Begram ivories: yaksas, leogryphs, "grylles," etc.; the animals are treated with a sureness of touch and realism very close to the animal art of India. There are also many birds, and comparisons could be made between them and the art of Sāñcī, Mathurā and Amarāvātī as regards the ducks and geese flying among bands of flowering foliage. The human figures approach very closely the Indian aesthetic concepts: women in half-relief, 52 centimeters high, are clearly related to the river goddesses

<sup>16</sup> Ramaprasad CHANDA, *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, 1919, vol. 1

<sup>17</sup> DAREMBERG & SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, art "Gigantomachie"

<sup>18</sup> BALTRUSAITIS, *L'art sumérien et l'art roman*

<sup>19</sup> VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, *Ars asiatica* 18, pl. 59 and 9a

Ganga and Yamuna so widespread in northern India at the beginning of the Gupta style <sup>20</sup>

The young women represented on the cover of casket No 9, which has remained at the museum at Kabul, constitute veritable type scenes and come within the framework of secular art, they are treated in the third manner, the contour being incised and the body modelled in subtle fashion. Presumably contemporaneous with the styles of Amaravati and Mathura, this art anticipates the refinement of Ajanta and must be placed around the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. These women wear two types of costume: the wide girdle of pearls and the transparent skirt of ancient India, or the cut out tunic, fitted at the waist, which partially covers a narrow pantaloons.

Besides their exceptional value from the archaeological standpoint the ivories of Begram enable us to see the existence in that region of an already elaborate secular art and of Indian traditions, while they borrowed Hellenistic elements at the time when the last Sunga kings were still maintaining relations with the Greek kings of Bactria. The Guimet Museum received a great number of these plaques while the others were rightly allotted to the museum of Kabul.

On the site of Fundukistan ("Valley of the Nut trees"), M. CARL was commissioned to excavate a Buddhist monastery. This site is half way between Kabul and Bamiyan, it was mentioned in 1836 by Charles Masson. In 1936 a piece was accidentally discovered there and this determined the search which the D. A. F. A. decided to undertake in 1937. M. CARL cleared away the cells of the monastery and brought to light mural paintings and sculptures in high relief done in clay and bearing traces of polychromy. The murals bear a clear imprint of Indian art of the seventh and eighth centuries and, by their details and colors, approach the best Tibetan standards. Among the statues in half relief, some of which were brought to the Guimet Museum, one

<sup>20</sup> Cf. especially the cave known as the Cave of Candragupta at Udayagiri (end of fourth beginning of fifth centuries) cf. also VOGEL, Ganga et Yamuna dans l'iconographie brahmanique. *Etudes asiatiques* 2, pl. 6a.

of the most interesting represents an adorned Buddha wearing over his monastic robe a richly ornamented three-cornered hood.<sup>21</sup> Another group, found in a niche, represents a princely couple; the man is dressed in Iranian, the lady in Indian style. From another niche comes a group which now is at the Guimet Museum: two Nāgarājas entirely anthropomorphic, their ophiomorphic nature being indicated only by a little snake on the heads of the figures. The latter must have been part of a representation of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī.<sup>22</sup>

All these paintings and sculptures show a clear Buddhist influence from the North of India and influences of late Sassanian Iran (sixth-seventh centuries); these influences are in juxtaposition without merging, giving a hybrid charm to the artistic conception of that period in Afghanistan.

In the Buddhist monasteries of Shotorak, carefully described by Hsuan-tsang, M. MEUNIE exhumed has-reliefs in schist of Graeco-Buddhist style (third-fourth centuries). They present a great interest from the iconographic standpoint, and they prove that the schist was worked on the spot instead of having been imported completely sculpted from Gandhāra, as was believed heretofore: in fact, M. MEUNIE discovered a sketch and two or three unfinished has-reliefs. Among other new themes brought by these sculptures may be mentioned the conversion of the three Kāśyapa brothers and of their disciples. From the point of view of style, M. HACKIN makes interesting comparisons between the reliefs of Shotorak and certain Wei steles (sixth century of the Christian era).<sup>23</sup>

The discovery of purely Graeco-Buddhist pieces at Shotorak supports M. HACKIN's theory concerning the objects discovered by him in December 1936 at Kunduz;<sup>24</sup> according to him, the

<sup>21</sup> This characteristic dress is found also at Bāmiyān (cave 1) and at Kizil

<sup>22</sup> A. FOUCHER, *Le Grand Miracle du Buddha à Śrāvastī*, JA 1909, pp. 6-77

<sup>23</sup> In 1939 will appear the scientific reports of the mission, in volumes 9 and 10 of the *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*

<sup>24</sup> J. HACKIN, *L'art bouddhique de la Bactriane et les origines de l'art gréco-bouddhique*, Kabul, 1937—According to VON SCHMIDT, Kunduz is ancient Drapsaka, one of the cities visited by Alexander; it is situated east of Balkh, and Hsuan tsang cites ten monasteries there as evidence of its flourishing state

center of diffusion of Graeco Buddhist art must be shifted. In fact, up to the present, archaeologists had met with complete failure in Bactria, and yet, Bactria was a country that was Hellenized at an early period, before Alexander's invasion, this influence having penetrated by way of the silk route. Coins have been found which attest those relations since the sixth or fifth century B C. After Alexander's invasion, Bactria had remained Greek, whereas the satrapies of Asia and of Arachosia were occupied by the Mauryas. Moreover, Buddhism must have found, after around 250 B C, a favorable ground in Bactria to develop according to the formulae which Indian superstitions still tended to reject. All this was to lead logically to the belief that Bactria had been an important center for the development and diffusion of Graeco Buddhist art. But in the face of the absolutely negative results obtained by M. FOUCHER from his excavations of 1922 to 1926, archaeologists had acknowledged themselves defeated and had christened that disillusionment the "Bactrian mirage". However, a fragment of a statue unexpectedly discovered at Kunduz in September 1936 compelled M. HACKIN to search the place in December 1936. The few heads that he was able to find there are stamped with an almost purely Greek influence, particularly noticeable in the specimens manifesting a freedom of expression unusual in Gandhāra. For all these reasons M. HACKIN proposes to revise the theories advanced on this subject and to place the center of diffusion of the Graeco Buddhist style in Afghanistan rather than in India.<sup>25</sup>

It will be seen how fruitful have been these two years of French excavation in Afghanistan and Indo China, the Guimet Museum of Paris has rightly profited by them, inasmuch as the expeditions were carried out by its directors. It is thus enriched without impoverishing the countries of origin, and constitutes henceforth a more and more complete repository of Asiatic arts.

<sup>25</sup> For the study of Graeco-Buddhist style the important work remains of course that of M. FOUCHER *L'art gréco bouddhique du Gandhara* but it is certain that the problem is presented in a different light since the excavations in Afghanistan.



# MARGINALIA TO THE HISTORIES OF THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES

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## I. THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA ON CHINA

As is well known, the Byzantine historian Theophylactus Simocatta (VI-VII cc. A.D.) devotes a paragraph of the seventh book of his *Historiae*<sup>1</sup> to the description of a great kingdom in eastern Asia which, as has been universally recognized, can only be China. The information contained in that paragraph, so justly characterized by G. F. HUDSON<sup>2</sup> as "the most intimate glimpse of China in European literature before Marco Polo," was undoubtedly obtained by the Byzantines from the Turks and is inserted by Theophylactus into his account of the growth of the Turkish power in Central Asia as revealed by a diplomatic communication from the Turkish khan to the court of Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

This all-important source for the history of Asia during the last part of the VIth century provides us with the following fifteen items of information concerning the Middle Kingdom:

1. The country, its people, and its chief city are called Taugast, Ταυγάστ.<sup>4</sup>

2. The ruler (κλιματάρχης) of Taugast is termed Ταυγάς which is said to mean son of god (υἱὸς θεοῦ).

3. The kingdom is not disrupted by disputed succession, the latter being hereditary in the family of the ruler.

4. Worship of idols, just laws, and temperate wisdom characterize the inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup> 7, 9 Ed BEKKER, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, v 46, Bonn 1834, pp 286-288 Ed DE BOOR, Leipzig 1887, pp 260 262

<sup>2</sup> G F HUDSON, *Europe and China*, London 1931, 127

<sup>3</sup> *Historiae*, 7, 7 8, translated by CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-keue occidentaux*, 246 249

<sup>4</sup> Taugast is referred to by Theophylactus for the first time in 7, 7 On the curious mistranslation of the passage corrected by CHAVANNES, cf *op cit* 246 247, n 5

5 A law enjoins men from wearing gold ornaments, although gold and silver derived through commerce abound in the country

6 The country is divided in two by a great river forming the boundary between two nations, one wearing clothes dyed black, the other, red (κοκκοβαφος)

7 In the time of Emperor Maurice (582-602), the "black coats" crossed the river, conquered the "red (ερυθρος) coats," and became masters of the whole empire

8 The city of Taugast was founded by Alexander the Great after his conquest of the Bactrians and Sogdians

9 In the city the ruler's women ride in gold chariots drawn by an ox. The women of the nobles use silver chariots\*

10 The ruler of Taugast is attended at night (κατεπαινωχίζεται) by seven hundred women

11 The women mourn the sovereign with shaven heads and in black clothes, and are forbidden to leave the vicinity of his tomb\*

12 A few miles away from Taugast is another city called Khuhdan (χουβδαν), also said to have been built by Alexander

13 Two rivers flow through it lined with cypresses

14 The people of Taugast trade with the Indians† and possess many elephants

15 They rear silkworms and excel in sericulture

Repeatedly quoted and referred to as a mixture of fact and fiction, the text has never been critically examined in the light of Chinese sources. Most investigators still rely on the briefly annotated translation of the text by H. YULE\* and limit themselves to repeating his observations which, though quite adequate for a non-sinologist of his day, are misleading when used unjudiciously.

Our analysis might best begin with items 6 and 7, of which the latter, besides providing us with an approximate dating for Simocatta's information, is taken by all commentators as referring to a

\* In the text the last statement follows No. 10

\* In the text No. 11 follows No. 12 seemingly indicating that the tombs of the rulers are located in Khuhdan and not in Taugast

† Northern Indians described as having become white from living in the North. Undoubtedly a reference to the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan

\* *Cathay and the Way Thither* London 1866 pp. L-LII

most important event of Chinese history, the re-unification of the northern and southern parts of the empire in 589 A. D. after almost three centuries of disruption.\*

While, as we shall see later, the passage in question may contain a faint echo of the great campaign of 589 and the establishment of the Sui as masters of the whole of China, in the text of Theophylactus No. 7 is so closely bound with No. 6 and so dependent on it that the interpretation of one hinges absolutely on that of the other. Now reference to the distinct colorings of dress in the two contending nations is usually passed over in silence by students of Theophylactus or dismissed as a mere fable in the telling of which that much-maligned Byzantine scholar is supposed to have taken great delight. The present writer has long suspected that this part of Simocatta's tale, far from being an invention or a vague generalization on the various types of dress affected in different parts of the vast Chinese empire,<sup>10</sup> might be an exact description of the color of military uniforms worn by the contending armies. Search through Chinese texts for the substantiation of this supposition has been long and weary, information cropping up in rather unexpected places and being conspicuous by its absence in the obvious sources, treatises on military organization.

*Cuneus cuneum* . . . We shall begin by confronting the supposed fable with a would-be idle tale. *Sui shu* 23, *Wu hsing chih*, relates that CH'EN Shu-pao 陳叔寶,<sup>11</sup> the last ruler of the Ch'ên

\* Cf HUDSON, *loc cit*, who, for some reason or other, gives 588 A D as the date of the conquest. Sir Percy SYKES (*The Quest for Cathay*, London 1936, p. 61) is apparently merely paraphrasing Hudson, but carelessly writes "the men of the south side crossed the river and, defeating the men on the north side, became supreme. Here we have an account of the struggle between the Sui and Ch'ên dynasties which ended in the unification of China under the Sui dynasty in 588" (The italics are mine). It is no wonder that after such cavalier treatment Theophylactus appears to the above writers as a mere 'recorder of gossip' (HUDSON) or a 'recorder of tales' (SYKES).

<sup>10</sup> Cf YULE, *op cit*, n. 4. As we shall see later, however, YULE, with his usual acumen, was on the right track, and had he had access to the Chinese sources, undoubtedly would have solved the problem.

<sup>11</sup> Born Dec. 10, 553, ascended the throne Feb. 20, 582. Made prisoner by the Sui troops in Feb. 589, he died at Ch'ang-an Dec. 16, 604. *Ch'ên shu* 6, *Nan shih* 10. He has no posthumous title and is known merely as the "Last Ruler," Hou Chu 後主, of Ch'ên.

dynasty, once had a dream where he saw his capital surrounded by men dressed in yellow. Deeply affected by the vision, he had all the orange trees growing near the city walls destroyed, unaware, adds the text, that the dream portended the siege of his capital by the *yellow-robed* army of the Sui. True or false, the story carried a point undoubtedly appreciated by contemporaries. The point of the tale was that CH'ÊN Shu-pao was neither demoted nor unmindful of the danger presented to his empire by its powerful neighbor in the north. He did not immediately associate the "yellow men" surrounding his capital with Sui soldiers because (as was undoubtedly understood by those who read or heard the story) he was in the habit of associating his enemy's armies with some other color. Indeed, it was only a few months before his accession to the throne that the newly established Sui emperor,<sup>12</sup> supreme lord of the entire north, decreed that the official color at his court should be red and the color of his army's uniforms, yellow.<sup>13</sup>

We have not been able to ascertain the color of the uniforms of the Ch'ên soldiers, but in their color pattern the Ch'ên followed the Liang,<sup>14</sup> whose official color was *red* (for ensigns and flags);<sup>15</sup> otherwise colors varied according to year, season, and probably point of the compass, as was usual in a tradition-bound Chinese milieu. In the campaign of 589 A.D., therefore, there were "yellow-coats" (the Sui) invading the territory of the red-bannered<sup>16</sup> southern empire, and not "black-coats" conquering an army of red-robed warriors.

The histories of the Northern Dynasties supply us, on the other

<sup>12</sup> YANG Chien 楊堅, pht Sui Wên Ti (541-581 604 A D.), Sui shu 1 2, Pei shih 11, ascended the throne March 4, 581

<sup>13</sup> Sui shu 1. 12 The edict was promulgated July 21, 581. On August 22, the Emperor appeared for the first time in a yellow uniform. It must have taken several months before the change could be put into effect throughout the empire.

<sup>14</sup> Sui shu 12

<sup>15</sup> Supplanting green which was the color of the banners of the preceding dynasty of Southern Ch'ên. Sui shu 10 1a

<sup>16</sup> If the Ch'ên followed in any way the usual scheme of cosmological colors, they would have adopted as their distinctive color, yellow or white, which correspond to earth and metal, either of which follows red fire in the order of elements. Yellow would have been preferable to white, the color of mourning.

hand, with numerous bits of evidence that black and red (of at least two different shades) were the official colors of the uniforms of the two Northern states of Chou and Ch'i, successors, respectively, of the western and eastern Wei, which had carried on from the first third of the sixth century a bitter struggle for supremacy over northern China. This rivalry ended in 577 A.D. with the conquest of the red-coats of Ch'i by the black-uniformed armies of Chou. Shortly after, on March 4, 581, the Sui officially supplanted the Chou, but did not change the established form of military dress until some four months later. The testimony of the Chinese sources contains both sober fact and faithfully recorded phantastic stories of colorful (ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν, as Theophylactus would say) portents.

We shall first paraphrase a passage from *Pei Ch'i shu* 2, *Pei shih* 6, which gives an account of the last campaign of KAO Huan 高歡, the powerful major-domo of the Eastern Wei. On October 3, 546 A.D. KAO Huan broke the armistice that had reigned for three years (spring 543-546) between the two hostile halves of the Wei empire. Establishing his headquarters at Chin-yang 晉陽, he made preparations for descending the valley of the Fên. In the ninth month (sometime after October 11) he laid siege to the city of Yu-pi 玉壁<sup>17</sup> which barred his road to the west. Yu-pi, ably defended by WEI Hsiao-k'uan 韋孝寬,<sup>18</sup> successfully withstood a series of fierce attacks, and some two months later, KAO Huan, disheartened and sick, was forced to abandon the siege and the campaign, having lost in the undertaking some 76,000 men.<sup>19</sup> On February 13, 547, he died.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Situated in the vicinity of modern Chu shan 稷山, on the Fen river, Shansi

<sup>18</sup> *Chou shu* 31, *Pei shih* 64, 509-580 (died Dec. 17, according to *Chou shu* 8).

<sup>19</sup> 20-30% of his army (*Chou shu* 2), 40-50%, according to *Chou shu* 31

<sup>20</sup> On the ping wu day of the 1st month of Wu tung 5 of Hsiao ching Ti of Eastern Wei, *Ch'i shu* 2, *Chou shu* 2, *Pei shih* 6, *Wei shu* 12, *Pei shih* 5. In the 2nd month of Ta tung 13 of Wen Ti of Western Wei, according to another entry in *Pei shih* 5. The discrepancy is explained by the fact that news of his death was suppressed and mourning was officially proclaimed only on July 19, 547 (*Ch'i shu* 2) or July 22, 547 (*Wei shu* 12), the difference of three days to be disregarded as the first gives us the beginning, the second, the end of the period of court mourning. KAO Huan left particular instructions to his son not to make an official announcement of his death until he was sure to be in full control of the situation in Eastern Wei. The news must

The disastrous end of that brief campaign had been vainly predicted to KAO Huan, says the *Ch'i shu*, by one of his officers, Ts'AO Wei-tsu 曹魏祖. Besides, KAO Huan passed unheeded another warning. Ever since the beginning of the wars between the eastern and western Wei, it had been observed that prior to the start of a campaign black and yellow Formicidae would stage a battle in phalanxes under the walls of Yeh, the capital of the eastern Wei. Prognosticators considered that the black ants represented the western Wei whose military uniforms were black, and the yellow ants the eastern Wei whose troops dressed in yellow. The populace used to predict the outcome of a campaign on the basis of the ants which triumphed. On that occasion the yellow ants had been exterminated, presaging dire results for KAO Huan's undertaking.

*Pei Ch'i shu* 49, *Pei shih* 89, supply us with another story. During the Mang-shan 邙山 campaign in the spring of 543 A.D., KAO Huan had in his service a Taoist by the name of CH'U-wu Huai-wên 蔡母懷文.<sup>21</sup> That worthy pointed out to KAO Huan that, the latter's banners being red, he had little chance to prevail against the black ones of the Western Wei (black being the color of the water element which conquers the red of fire) and suggested that they be changed to yellow ones (yellow earth being triumphant over water). KAO Huan followed his advice and ordered the banners dyed in ocher.<sup>22</sup>

*Liang shu* 5, under Ch'êng-shêng 3, relates that in the sixth month of that year (on August 12, 554) a black vaporous emanation in the form of a dragon appeared in the palace. *Sui shu* 23 repeats the story, adding that black being the color of the Cbou,

have leaked out, for Hou Chung 侯景 of whose loyalty KAO Huan was especially doubtful, rebelled on February 18, and surrendered to the Western Wei (*Ch'i shu* 3, *Wei shu* 12, *Pei shih* 5). It would appear from *Wei shu* 108, 4, 8a that it was the Wei emperor who betrayed the secret.

<sup>21</sup> The *Ch'i shu* text appears to be the primary source, as KAO Huan is referred to by his temple name, Kao-tsu, and the Eastern Wei army is spoken of as 官軍, "the government army."

<sup>22</sup> Ocher yellow 赭黃, probably an orange shade of yellow, produced by dyeing the originally red silk yellow. The text adds that the banners became known as Ho-yang 河陽 banners.

the portent presaged the subsequent terrible invasion of Liang by the northerners. The same *Sui shu* chapter tells us that in 547 dragons were observed fighting in a river, after which a white dragon fled south pursued by a black one. The latter was recognized as a symbol of Hou Ching, the traitorous adventurer then in the service of the western Wei, who in the autumn of that year surrendered to Liang Wu Ti.<sup>23</sup>

According to the same source, in 568 A. D. the death of a yellow dragon, found in a tree and inadvertently wounded by a wood-cutter, presaged the death of the Ch'i sovereign in that very year.<sup>23a</sup> In 576 they observed in Ch'i a desperate fight between a red serpent and black one resulting after several days in the death of the red serpent. The fall of Ch'i followed the next year. During the same twelvemonth a black dragon fell down from the sky and died in Chou, indicating clearly that the end of the Chou themselves was near. In both passages the editors are careful to indicate that the colors symbolize the respective dynasties. In 578 in Ch'ên black clouds were interpreted as predicting a victory for the Chou, which supposedly followed in the next year.<sup>24</sup> In 577 in Chou (*Sui shu* 23) three animals resembling water buffaloes were observed, one yellow, one red, one black. The black ox and the red one had been fighting for a long time, when the yellow one gored the black from the side so that it died. After this the yellow and red animals disappeared into the river. Again the text explicitly states that the yellow ox symbolizes the yellow uniforms of the Sui, while the red one stands for their flags. Judging from the context (the black ox fighting the red one), the red animal symbolizes the Ch'i as well. On March 27, 580, record

<sup>23</sup> He had been in the service of the Western Wei less than six months. For his biography see *Liang shu* 56, *Nan shih* 80.

<sup>23a</sup> That of Kao Chan, the "abdicated ruler" of Ch'i. The "dragon" was probably some rare lizard.

<sup>24</sup> Scattering, the clouds formed shapes resembling pigs. According to *Sung shu* 83, the pig is the symbol of the barbarians of the North. The Chou victory is said to be that of Wang Kuei 王軌 (*Chou shu* 40) over the famous and heretofore seemingly invincible Wu Ming-ch'e 吳明徹 (*Ch'ên shu* 9) of Ch'ên. There must be some mistake in dating, however, as Wu Ming-ch'e's defeat took place in 578 A. D. (*Chou shu* 6, *Ch'ên shu* 5).

the annals of Chou (*Chou shu* 7), adjutant birds perched in front of the recently completed T'ai chi 太極 palace in Lo yang, while near Yung chou a black dragon was seen fighting a red one, the combat resulting in the death of the former. There is no doubt that in the mind of the historians the red dragon and the red caruncles on the adjutants' beads were portents of the inevitable triumph of the Sui. The maniacal last emperor of the Ch'i, *Pei shih* 8, *Pei Ch'i shu* 8, used to have fortifications erected and, ordering people to dress in black and attack the forts, he would shoot at them with arrows while pretending that they were Chou troops.<sup>25</sup> During the reign of the same sovereign, a mad sramana of Ch'i is said (*Sui shu* 23) to have been wandering about making obeisances to black crows and insulting Buddhist monks, obviously presaging the extinction of the Ch'i by the Chou and the persecution of Buddhism by the latter.<sup>26</sup>

The above evidence indicates sufficiently that between c. 543 and 577 the western Wei (Chou) and the eastern Wei (Ch'i) troops were clearly distinguished by the color of their uniforms, those of the first being black, and those of the second, red or yellow, and that these color associations were firmly established in ominal lore and in the popular mind. The color patterns affected by the two rival Chinese states must have been well known to the Turks who were in intimate contact with both powers, and there is thus no doubt that the famous passage in Theophylactus Simocatta's text refers primarily to events in Northern China. The river dividing the two nations is thus undoubtedly the Yellow river, and not the Yangtse, as generally believed, the "black coats" are the Chou, and the "red coats," the Ch'i.

The conquest of the Ch'i took place, however, in 577 A. D., a year which would fall in the reign of Justin II, and not in that

<sup>25</sup> Literally Chiang 羌 troops. Under the Northern Dynasties Chiang was a popular name for the inhabitants of Shensi and whatever power occupied that territory.

<sup>26</sup> YU WEN Yung 宇文邕 (Kao-tsu Wu Huang ti of Chou 543-561 578 A. D. *Chou shu* 5 6) an ardent anti-Buddhist and anti-Taoist proscribed both religions and ordered the statues and books destroyed (edict promulgated June 21 574). The persecution continued until his death but both faiths were re-established in favor in 579 during the reign of his son YU WEN P'in 宇文贇 (pht Hsuan Ti 559 579 580).



of Maurice. Two explanations of the discrepancy are possible. Simocatta's information came unquestionably from Turkish sources, either from the famous letter of Khan Tardou to Emperor Maurice<sup>27</sup> or from data collected for the Constantinople chancelleries by Byzantine ambassadors to the Turks. News of the conquest of Ch'i, which was completed in February-March 577, may have been conveyed by the Turks to Valentinus<sup>28</sup> who, as is not improbable, was still in territory controlled at that time by the Khan. If the account of the events of 577 had been included in Tardou's letter of 598, the Ch'i conquest may have been dated in the original document as having occurred in the time of the reigning Khan, i. e. Tardou. Now Tardou's reign being practically synchronous with that of Maurice (576-c.603 *vs.* 582-602),<sup>29</sup> it is possible that the Byzantine translators or commentators of the document substituted the name of the sovereign of the Romans for that of the barbarian ruler.

On the other hand, the conquest of Ch'én by the Sui in 589 A. D. could not have passed unnoticed by the Turks. The story of Sui Wên Ti presenting to the Turkish ambassadors<sup>30</sup> his great general HAN Ch'in-hu 韓擒虎<sup>31</sup> as the mighty conqueror of the empire south of the Yangtse has become famous in Chinese literature. Though it was only events in northern China that were of primary interest to the Turks, one might conceive that the latter also transmitted news of happenings farther south. One should, however, imagine the bewilderment of the Foreign Office at Constantinople on being informed that in a far-off land "black-coats," having disposed of "red-coats," turned red (or yellow) themselves

<sup>27</sup> This is a natural supposition based on the order of narration in the text of Theophylactus. It is not, however, binding, as the paragraph dealing with Tardou can also be interpreted as being an independent appendix to the substance of the Khan's communication.

<sup>28</sup> According to Menander (ed BEKKER and NIEBUHR *Corpus*, v 19, Bonn 1829, 397-398), Valentinus left Constantinople sometime in 576. His journey to Ektel and back must have taken at least two years, probably more, as he was detained for a considerable time at the Khan's court. Cf CHAYANNE, *Documents*, 239-241.

<sup>29</sup> On Tardou's dates, cf CHAYANNE, *op cit.*, 48-51.

<sup>30</sup> Probably in 591 A. D. when two important embassies from the Turks arrived at Ch'ang an, *Sui shu* 2.

<sup>31</sup> Also called HAN Ch'in (the last character *hu* being taboo in T'ang texts), 538-592, *Sui shu* 52.

and subsequently proceeded to make war on some more "red- (or non-descript) coats," first crossing one mighty river from west to east, then a mightier one from north to south, etc. We cannot blame the poor clerks for being satisfied with the first half of the story and either dismissing the rest entirely or lumping the two accounts together and twisting their chronology slightly in the process.

It is thus more likely that Simocatta's account of Taugast deals fundamentally with northern China just prior to and immediately after 577 and describes primarily the state of affairs in Chou and Ch'i, most probably ante-dating the establishment of the Sui. Item No. 10 here becomes pertinent to our discussion. The enormous number of female attendants that Theophylactus attributes to the ruler of Taugast does not tally at all with what we know of the character and the court organization of Sui Wên Ti, the conqueror of Ch'ên. He is reputed to be the only monogamist among Chinese emperors,<sup>32</sup> and the number of palace women of rank during his reign did not exceed fifty before his wife's death in 601 A. D. and one hundred and twenty after that date.<sup>33</sup> It is true, on the other hand, that Chou Wu Ti, the Chou emperor under whom the subjugation of Ch'i was achieved, favored also stringent regulations limiting the number of ranking women attendants and is said to have curtailed the list at one time to no more than a dozen.<sup>34</sup> His successor, however, was as extravagant as the profligate emperors of Ch'i. He had his empire searched for the most beautiful women to be taken into the palace as concubines and attendants, built lavishly decorated quarters for them, and increased the number of ranks and titles for women to a hitherto unknown degree.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> YANG Chien is said to have sworn to his wife, Empress Wên-hsien 文獻 (553-602), daughter of *Tu ku Hsin* 獨孤信 (503-557, *Chou shu* 10) whom he married in 566 that he would never be unfaithful to her. He broke his promise but once, the unfortunate object of his affection being immediately murdered by the jealous empress, and took unto himself concubines only after her death. As *Tu-ku Hsin* himself is said to have betrothed his daughter to YANG Chien, we seem to have in this case an interesting instance of child marriage. *Sui shu* 36.

<sup>33</sup> *Sui shu* 36, introduction.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the end of his biography. Also edict in 11th month of 577, *Chou shu* 6.

<sup>35</sup> *Chou shu* 7. Cf. 5th month of 579.

On the side of the Ch'i, the last sovereign's (KAO Hui) insane extravagance in distributing ranks and official emoluments to his women has become proverbial in Chinese history. Over 500 palace ladies are mentioned as attending him at table or levee.<sup>86</sup> But it is in his father's (KAO Chan) biography that we find an indication that Tbeophylactus' information was amazingly accurate. It is again a supernatural story that supplies us with the evidence. In the third month of 565 A. D., relate *Pei shih* 8 and *Ch'i shu* 7, a ghost described as very corpulent, with face indistinct hut with two white tusks protruding from his lips, appeared in the park of the imperial palace. The emperor himself saw it only in a dream, but the vision was attested by the seven hundred palace women attending the emperor at night.

Passing on to item No. 9 which describes briefly the chariots of the noble women of Taugast, we must note that the description agrees more with what little we know of the official regulations of the Ch'i (rather than the Chou). Chariots decorated with gold (gilding or inlay) were in common use at the courts of all dynasties; the minute regulations covering every type of vehicle and the pattern of decoration have been preserved in dynastic histories, and those of the period under consideration are found in *Sui shu* 10.<sup>87</sup> The Chou ceremonial is quite complicated; only some vehicles for women are said to be drawn by oxen, the majority of palace chariots being described as horse-drawn. For the Ch'i only few details are given, but among them we find that princesses of the blood (公主 kung chu) rode in varnished chariots, both chariots and oxen being decorated with gilt and solid silver. At the same time while gold decorations are said to be prescribed for chariots of officers of higher rank, those of lower rank could use only copper which would indicate that there existed a definite gradation in the use of different metals according to official position. The distinction that Simocatta's text draws between the women of the ruler and those of the nobles could thus well have been based on reality. In addition, according to the *Sui shu*, the regulations of the Wei<sup>88</sup> (on which those of Ch'i

<sup>86</sup> *Pei shih* 8, *Pei Ch'i shu* 8      <sup>87</sup> Cf also as a convenient reference *T'ung tien* 63

<sup>88</sup> Dating from 516 A. D., *Wei shu* 108. 4

were based) allowed but one horse or ox for the chariots of nobles below the rank of *wang*, the Chou rules seem to have permitted the use of teams

The use of gold for decorating men's chariots does not conflict with the supposed law which prevailed according to Theophylactus in Taugast (item No 3), prohibiting men the use of gold ornaments, as it would seem that *καλλωπιζεσθαι* of the text applies only to personal adornment. We can find no mention in Chinese sources of such a law obtaining either in Chou or Ch'ü, unless it refer to one of the insane regulations issued by the megalomaniac Chou Hsuan Ti (Yu wên Pin) who ordered all his officers to remove the golden clasps from their hats, lest his own resplendent imperial majesty suffer from lack of contrast in adornment with the court surrounding him. With less probability we may have here an allusion to the activities of Hsuan Ti's father, Wu Ti (Yu wên Yung) of Chou, a much more sympathetic character, but, as we have already noted, definitely inclined towards puritanism. He is said to have used no gold or jewelry personally, ordered the destruction of many elaborate palaces and buildings, notably in the conquered territory of Ch'ü, and prohibited architectural decorations. There is, however, so far as we have been able to discover, no record of his having promulgated sumptuary laws regulating the personal appearance of his subjects. It is, however, not unthinkable that wearing no gold ornaments himself, he did not allow his officers to indulge in this extravagance.

Items No 3 and No 4 require no special comment. Worship of statues (*αγαλματα*) refers, of course, particularly to Buddhism which was stronger in Ch'ü than in Chou, while undisputed (officially) succession, just laws, and *σωφροσυνη* of the inhabitants can be said to be natural clichés which nomads would use to describe a thickly settled, highly civilized, and orderly (even in those troubled days) country like China.

The name of the ruler of Taugast given in item No 2 presents, however, unusual interest. Since the day of Klaproth *ταυσα* translated by the Byzantine writer "son of God" has been supposed to be a corruption (either by the author or a copyist) of Chinese *t'ien tzu* 天子—"Son of Heaven" J. MARQUART, who

was well acquainted with Theophylactus' work and quotes it repeatedly, boldly emended ταράν into \**tarwai* and even used this emendation as a basis for tampering with the transcription of a foreign title in Armenian.<sup>39</sup> YULE hesitatingly suggested T'ai-tsung 太宗,<sup>40</sup> the temple name of the great sovereign of the T'ang dynasty. As universally recognized, this is out of the question, as the T'ang emperor became known under that title only after his death in 649 A.D., and there is absolutely no evidence that Simocatta wrote (or even lived) beyond that date.

Now *taráw* represents a most faithful transcription of Chinese *t'ai shang* 太上, an imperial title with an interesting history and especially frequent in our period. The title *t'ai shang* was created by Liu Pang, the founder of the Han dynasty, for the purpose of honoring his father.<sup>42</sup> Between 300 and 630 A.D., Chinese histories register the following cases of its application as the title of an abdicated emperor, usually one whose son officially rules in his stead:

1. On February 4, 301, Ssŭ-MA Lun 倫<sup>41a</sup> deposed the imbecile Ssŭ-MA Ch'ung 衷 (Huì Tì of Chin 259-290-306). On the next day, having imprisoned the fallen emperor in the citadel of Chin-yung, he conferred upon him the title of *t'ai shang*. *Chin shu* 4.

2. About January 400 A.D., Lu Kuang 呂光, ruler of Hou Liang 後梁, abdicated in favor of his son Shao 紹 and adopted himself the title of *t'ai shang*. He died a day or so later: *Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu* 81, *Chin shu* 10, *Wei shu* 2, *Chin shu* 122.<sup>42</sup>

3. On September 21, 471, To-PA Hung 弘 (Hsien-tsu Hsien-wên Tì 顯祖獻文 of Wei, 454-466-471-476) having abdicated in favor of his son, accepted the title *t'ai shang*, urged upon him by

<sup>39</sup> *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 9, 100-101

<sup>40</sup> *Op cit* (in note 8), I, n 3, II, n 2. In order to justify his equation, Yule suggests that Theophylactus might have inserted the supposed name of T'ai Tsung at a time later than 628, the chronological terminus of his work.

<sup>41</sup> In 201 B.C., *Shih ch'i* 8, *Han shu* 1 B. Already in 221 Ch'in Shih Huang t'i had used the title to honor posthumously his own father Chuang hsiang Wang 莊襄王 of Ch'in (249-247 B.C.), *Shih ch'i* 6.

<sup>41a</sup> Biography in *Chin shu* 59.

<sup>42</sup> Three years previously, nearing the sixtieth year of his life Lu Kuang had assumed the title of *t'ien wang* 天王.

his officers as a suitable designation for the father of a reigning emperor. LIU Pang's father's holding of the title was pointed out as a precedent. T'Ō-PA Hung continued to be known as *t'ai shang* until his death on July 20, 476: *Wei shu* 6.

4. On June 8, 565, KAO Chan of Ch'i abdicated in favor of his son.<sup>43</sup> He assumed the title of *t'ai shang* retaining it until his death on January 13, 569: *Ch'i shu* 7-8, *Pei shih* 8.

5. On February 4, 577 KAO Hui of Ch'i, his son, who had abdicated his tottering throne to his son, was given the title of *t'ai shang*. He was captured 24 days later by Chou troops: *Pei shih* 8, *Ch'i shu* 8, *Chou shu* 6.

6. On April 1, 579, YU-WÊN Pin of Chou abdicated in favor of his son and assumed the title of *t'ien yuan* 天元 *huang-ti*, specially created for the occasion. It was apparently Pin's megalomania which made him dissatisfied with the traditional appellation. He spent the remainder of his life elaborating regulations and inventing fitting titles for his empresses and now super-exalted entourage and died in June 580.<sup>44</sup> It is quite likely that during this period his subjects and foreign ambassadors, unable to follow the wild vagaries of his title-obsessed mind, called him by the traditional name for "abdicated" emperors: *Chou shu* 7, *Pei shih* 10.

7. On April 2, 586, SUI Wên Ti is urged through the petition of a certain KAO Tê 高德 to abdicate the throne to his son and assume the title of *t'ai shang*. He refuses to follow the precedent established during the two preceding dynasties and relinquish the responsibilities of his high office: *Sui shu* 1, *Pei shih* 11.<sup>45</sup>

8. On December 17, 617, LI Yuan (the future T'ang Kao-tsu), having captured Ch'ang-an and set up a puppet regime with Yang Yu 侁 as emperor, conferred upon SUI Yang Ti, the reigning sovereign and father of the boy, the title of *T'ai shang*: *Sui shu* 4-5, *Pei shih* 12.

<sup>43</sup> Prompted, it is said, by astrological considerations

<sup>44</sup> See note 95

<sup>45</sup> Note that, judging from his surname, that individual was a member of the former royal clan of Ch'i

<sup>46</sup> Observe, however, that YANG Chien changes his *nien hao* to 仁壽 *Jên-shou* in 600 when he was sixty years old and demotes his heir-apparent. He undoubtedly feared that he would be forcibly made *t'ai shang* because he had completed a full cycle of life. Hence, we believe, the *shou* " (continuous) long life " in his new *nien-hao*

9. On September 3, 626, Li Yuan himself was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Li Shih-min.<sup>46</sup> He was proclaimed *t'ai shang*, a title he continued to bear until his death on June 25, 635: *Chiu T'ang shu* 1, *T'ang shu* 1.

It is noteworthy that those of the *t'ai shang* who abdicated voluntarily in favor of young, or even infant, sons reserved for themselves the right to manage important affairs of state, especially matters of foreign policy. Thus, T'o-PA Hung as *t'ai shang* is mentioned as leading in the second and third months of 472 a military expedition against the Juan-juan and the T'ieh-lê; in the winter of 472-473 he again campaigned against the Juan-juan; in the 10th month of 473 he placed himself at the head of an army moving to suppress a rebellion in the south, and in the 10th month of 475 he held a military review, apparently staged for the benefit of Juan-juan envoys (*Wei shu* 7A). KAO Chan appears to have retained almost complete control over state affairs as the majority of edicts issued between 565 and 569, the first part of the nominal reign of his son, were promulgated in his name (as *t'ai shang*). YU-wên Pin likewise seems to have ruled as *t'ai shang* as arbitrarily as he did before his abdication.

During the period that interests us there were, then, in Northern China three rulers who bore the title of *t'ai shang*: one in Ch'ï from 565 to 569, another in the same state for a fortnight in 577, and one in Chou from April 579 to June 580. It is interesting to observe that it is under KAO Chan (particularly in his *t'ai shang* years) that diplomatic relations between Ch'ï and the T'u-chuch Turks became intimate. Acutely conscious of the danger to Ch'ï of an alliance of the Turks with the Chou, KAO Chan tried desperately to win the Turks over to his side. It appears that in the three last years of his life he succeeded, at least partially, in his purpose, for although the Chou continued on good terms with the Turks, the latter sent embassies to Ch'ï in 566,

<sup>46</sup> Note again that Li Yuan, who was born in 566, was then sixty years old. His deposition was a foregone conclusion and it merely remained to decide who would be his successor. The murderous conflict between his sons was apparently provoked by the temptation which the tradition that a ruler should not attempt to continue on the throne beyond the appointed three score years offered them.

567, and 568, and there is no doubt that envoys of the Ch'i t'ai shang were active at the ordo of the Turkish Khan during the same years.<sup>46</sup> During the last two years of Chou Hsuan Ti's (Yü-wên Pin) reign the Turks, while continuing diplomatic relations with the Chou, lent their support to the Ch'i pretender KAO Shao-i 高紹義,<sup>47</sup> cousin of the last t'ai shang of Ch'i, in his hopeless struggle against the t'ai shang of Chou. The Chinese title of "abdicated" emperors who exercised the real power behind the throne was thus well known at the court of the Turkish Khans. The appearance of that title in preference to t'ien-tzū (or its persian-turkish translation baypur<sup>48</sup>) in the text of Theophylactus may even give us a clue to the date of the composition of the abstract of information on China prepared by the Turks for the benefit of the Byzantines. The fresh memory of the state of affairs in Ch'i and of the latter's extinction, a t'ai-shang (prohibiting wearing of gold ornaments by men) on the throne, and the enormous size of the Taugast ruler's gynaeceum, all tend to indicate that the Turkish brief of information on which Simocatta's text is based, dates from the last years of the Chou dynasty, most probably from the period April 579-June 580.

Professor Pelliot was the first to recognize<sup>49</sup> that Taugast the name under which China appears in our text has its origin in the ethnic designation of the Turkish or Mongol speaking ruling class of the T'o-pa Wei dynasty, the \*t'ak-buât 拓跋 of the Chinese sources. The name is well attested in early Turkish and Central Asiatic documents in the form *Tabyač* or *Tabqač*, which was also adopted by the Moslem sources.

A primary ethnic name has no etymology. If the social group it designates has had a history of any significance, an ethnic designation early becomes a whole system of linguistic associations

<sup>46</sup> Because of interference by the Ch'i, the marriage of the Chou emperor with a Tu-chueh princess was delayed from 565 to 568 A D. *Chou shu* 9

<sup>47</sup> *Pei Ch'i shu* 12 He was the third son of KAO Yang. In 577 he refused to lay down arms before the Chou and fled to the Turks. The latter eventually sold him to the Chinese.

<sup>48</sup> On which see particularly G. FERRAND, *L'element persan dans les textes nautiques arabes*, JA 1924, 243

<sup>49</sup> TP 1012, 702.



of great complexity, pregnant with the memories and hopes of the bearers of the name, and conscious or unconscious reactions of their friends or foes, a magnetic field where forces of self- or mutual induction are constantly at work. Add to it sophisticated scholastic etymologizations which, as soon as they penetrate into the consciousness of the semi-educated, show great tenacity of life (one is almost tempted to say virulence), and we can well imagine how hopeless is any attempt at a simple, unilateral etymological explanation of a given ethnic name. No historically registered interpretation, on the other hand, is valueless, because in the majority of cases such an interpretation, however fanciful or scholastic, originated in the consciousness of a social group or class which, from within or from without, participated in the life of the *ethnos* bearing the name in question. In case of an ethnic name of considerable antiquity, we shall probably never be able to tell what particular significance such a name originally had, as it is quite probable that the majority of them originated in what one may describe as a henopoetical stage of linguistic development, and the means of research at our disposal can hardly enable us to penetrate beyond the veil of so-called "popular etymology." But for the historian and student of social institutions, after all, to know what people thought a name meant is much more important than to discover what its real significance had been once upon a time.

In *HJAS* 1, 180-185 we reviewed briefly some of the meanings ascribed to \*Tabyač ~ Taugast ~ \*T'ak buât. A few additional observations will further reveal the complexity of the problem. To sum up all the material from Chinese sources which the present writer has been able to gather, the name of the T'o pa was given the following interpretations:

1 "Lords of the Soil" 土 which, from the context of *Wei shu* 1 where the interpretation is found, could mean (a) the soil, as one of the Chinese cosmological elements, (b) the soil of the north land. Suggested Turkish forms \*tabaq čī—"those of the soil,"<sup>80</sup> \*tay başı—"lords of northland" (lit. mountains)

<sup>80</sup> It is not impossible that *Wei Shou* had also in mind mo \*tabuγat ~ \*tabuγac < Vtabu—five the soil 土 being the fifth of the Chinese five elements

2. "Slave." This meaning suggested by later Chinese commentators is apparently based on hints dropped by contemporary Chinese sources that the T'o-pa were in some way ashamed of their name as indicative of a low or servile origin. The Turkish original would be in that case *tapıyçı*—"slave."<sup>51</sup>

3 The Chinese surname Ch'ang-sun 長孫 which was adopted by one of the branches of the T'o-pa clan and which might be translated as "honoring (lit. treating as elder) a grandson," would tend to indicate that some of the T'o-pa preferred to semantize their name as a combination of some form of *tap*—"to honor" + *ači* < \**hači* <sup>52</sup>—"grandson."

4. "Braided heads" 索頭 is the usual designation of the T'o-pa in the histories of the southern Chinese dynasties. Possibly based on *tuy*—"tail" (which a braid of hair left on top of the skull resembles) + *baş*—"head," as indicated by another transcription of the T'o-pa name, T'u-fa 秃髮 \**t'uk-pi'vət* (= "bald" + "hair").<sup>53</sup>

5 T'u-fa was also supposed to mean "covered" or "born in a blanket." The possible origin of this explanation is that \**Tak-buāt* was interpreted as a Mongol compound of *toy*—"to be born" + *qubča*—"to cover."<sup>54</sup>

6 The fact that the sinicized T'o-pa adopted as their Chinese surname the word 元 Yuan—"original," while the T'u-fa had their name changed to 源 Yuan—"source" <sup>55</sup> (of a river), is another indication that the second syllable of the name T'o-pa was interpreted as containing the Turkish word *baş*—"head," but also "origin," "source of a river."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> More specifically, "female slave" *Sung shu* 95 and *Nan Ch'ü shu* 57 maintain that the T'o-pa were descendants of the Han general Li Ling 李陵 who surrendered to the Hsiung nu in 99 B C and married, according to *Nan Ch'ü shu*, a Hsiung nu woman named T'o-pa 托跋

<sup>52</sup> On which cf. PELLIOU, Mots a H initiale dans le mongol, *JA* 1925, I, 202-203

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Kurakichi SHIRATORI, The Queue among the peoples of North Asia, *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyō Bunko*, 4 (1929), 1-70

<sup>54</sup> The first element could also be *daXu*—"fur-coat" or *toXom*—"saddle-cloth"

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *HJAS* 1, 168

<sup>56</sup> Several examples of the last in the Orkhon inscriptions. Possibly underlying the Chinese transcription *pa-su* 跋斯 \**b'uat si* in 跋斯處折施山 of *Chou shu* 50 Cf. Грумм-Гржимайло, Западная Монголия и Урянхайский край, vol II, 209

<sup>1</sup> 7 A purely Chinese and fanciful etymology is suggested by *Wei shu* 1, where the mythical ancestor of the T'o pa who lived under the legendary emperor Yao won fame by driving out, 逐 *\*d'uk*, the she-demon of drought, 魃 *b'uat*

8 The metallurgical customs of the early T'o pa and the legends which tell of their hewing their way to civilization through mountains lead us to believe that their name was often interpreted as mo *\*toβuyaci*—"metal worker" or *\*dabayaci*—"they who pass through mountains" <sup>57</sup>

The suggested "turco mongol" etymologies would indicate that the metathesis of the guttural and the labial in T'ak h'urt (*vs tk Tabγac* which undoubtedly registers more or less faithfully the original "Altaic" name) is not accidental and that on the Chinese frontier *\*Tabγac* was often sounded *\*Taybač* or even *\*Toybač*

Applied by the Turks to the whole of northern China, the name of the T'o pa was apparently used by them in the sixth century to refer also to the Chinese court and its seat. The proximity of Taugast to Khuhdan indicated in No 12, Khuhdan unquestionably referring to the Ch'ang an district,<sup>58</sup> leaves no doubt as to the fact that it is the capital of Chou that is described in the text of Theophylactus, no mention being made of Yeh, that of Ch'i

The origin of the name Khuhdan or Khumdan as referring to the great western metropolis of China has never been satisfactorily explained. We suggest that the name is a transcription of Chinese Hsien yang 咸陽, arch *\*g'vm dang*,<sup>59</sup> the name of the old capital of Ch'in and in our period still an important city (the seat of a *chun*) northwest of Ch'ang an and situated at the confluence of the Wei and the Feng (cf. in this connection No 13). The respective situation of Ch'ang an and Hsien yang at this particular period is a complex question demanding detailed topographical study. There is no doubt, however, that of the two, Ch'ang an was at the time farther from the banks of the Wei, and the

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *HJAS* 1 179 183 185

<sup>58</sup> Khuhdan is the Syriac Kumdan of the Nestorian Monument and the Khumdan حملان of the Arabic sources

<sup>59</sup> Note that as in *ʿai shang* > *taisan* Chinese final *ng* is rendered by foreign -n

mention by our text of two rivers flowing through the city would apply to Hsien-yang better than to Ch'ang-an.<sup>59</sup> The only difficulty in the way of accepting the derivation of Khumdan from Hsien-yang is that it would presuppose the borrowing of the name sometime in the Han period, while Khumdan is not attested in foreign sources before Simocatta.

The reputed founding of the two cities by Alexander the Great, besides being the usual application of the Alexandrian Saga to a description of a distant foreign land,<sup>60</sup> has two rational explanations. The antiquity of the Hsien-yang district and the approximate date of its founding may well have been known to the informants of the Byzantines. Hsien-yang (and Ch'ang-an, the two together treated as one administrative district) being founded in 349 B. C., the brief Turkish "Baedeker" would have informed the Greeks that the city was some 930 years old in 580 A. D. A quick computation would carry a Greek scholar back to the time of Alexander the Great (with 20 years' approximation, it would give him 329 B. C., the date of the invasion of Bactria). The existence of foreign colonies in Sbei and Kansu<sup>61</sup> would further lend support to the Greeks' belief that the Macedonian's conquests extended as far as China. It is not unthinkable, at the same time, that the Turks themselves, acquainted with at least fragments of the saga of the great conqueror, would have confirmed the above natural supposition of the Greeks. This interesting question deserves, however, special consideration.

Of the remaining items on our list, Nos. 14 and 15 call for no comment, except that in the mention of elephants we have the first positive indication that the information of the Turks extended to districts south of the Yellow river, the wording of the text precluding the possibility that the elephants mentioned were

<sup>59</sup> There are many references in Chinese sources to willows lining the rivers and canals near Ch'ang-an and Hsien-yang but we have found so far no mention of cypresses. *At spes non fracta*.

<sup>60</sup> Some three centuries later the Arabic geographer Qudāma repeats Simocatta's tale, mentioning two Chinese cities founded by Alexander, of which one is Khumdan. On the second, see PELLEROT, *JA* 1927, 133-141.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *HJAS* 1, 283-291. As we pointed out, it is not impossible that one of those colonies was even named Alexandria.

only those received at the capital as tribute or gifts from the South<sup>62</sup>

There remains only No. 11 which describes the mourning of the sovereign by his women. We would suggest that we have here an echo of the custom prevailing at the period according to which empresses, imperial concubines and other palace women, when ousted from the palace by the death of the emperor (or foreign invasion, as in the case of the Ch'i court, and other vicissitudes of life), often sought refuge<sup>63</sup> in Buddhist monasteries where, on taking vows, they would indeed have their heads shaven, would adapt black clothing, and remain usually in these sanctuaries the rest of their lives.

To sum up, despite several doubtful points that require further clarification, we have in the famous paragraph of Theophylactus Simocatta an amazingly accurate description of northern China at the close of the sixth century. So far as this particular piece of "reporting" is concerned, Theophylactus stands, in our opinion, completely vindicated of all charges of malicious or rhetorical distortion of his material and worthy, as a writer *vetus atque probus*, of our gratitude and attention, and of further unprejudiced and diligent study.

## II ON THE USE OF THE ANIMAL CYCLE AMONG "TURCO-MONGOLS"

In his note on "Le plus ancien exemple du cycle des douze animaux chez les Turcs" (TP 26, 204-212) Professor Pelliot established that the earliest instance of the use of the animal cycle among the Turks is to be found in a letter of the T'u chueh Khan Sha po lueh 沙鉢略<sup>64</sup> to the Sui emperor Wen Ti, where the year 584 A. D. (K'ai buang 4, *chia ch'en*, the 41st of the cycle of sixty)

<sup>62</sup> Elephants were brought into China both through the southern ports and through Eastern Turkestan.

<sup>63</sup> Or were forced to become nuns. For empresses we have two such cases in Ch'i (Ch'i shu 9) four cases in Chou (Chou shu 9). Three of them were empresses of Hsuan Ti (YU WEN P'IN).

<sup>64</sup> Title of She t'u 攝圖 who reigned from 582 to 587 (died on May 18 according to Sui shu 1).

is designated in the preamble to the khan's communication by the character *ch'ên* 辰 of the duodenary series which corresponds to the dragon in the animal cycle.<sup>65</sup>

We possess, however, an even earlier example of the use of the animal cycle<sup>66</sup> in a "turco-mongol" milieu with more specific designation of the year by animal terms (and not by the corresponding Chinese cyclical characters). It occurs in a letter written in the year 564 A.D. by Lady YU-WÊN 宇文, née YEN 閼, to her son YU-WÊN Hu 護, regent of the Northern Chou.<sup>67</sup>

This letter, one of the most interesting human documents of the period, was composed at the instigation of KAO Chan 高湛, the ruler of the Northern Ch'i, under the following circumstances. About 563, YU-WÊN Hu, then at the height of his power, decided to put into operation against the rival kingdom of Ch'i a strategic plan of attack which had been originally conceived by YU-WÊN T'ai 泰, presumably just before the latter's death. It envisaged a simultaneous invasion of Ch'i territory by Chou troops from the south and west, and by the T'u-chueh from the north. In the first two raids the nomads ravaged the frontier districts so seriously<sup>68</sup> that KAO Chan, much perturbed, was forced to open peace

<sup>65</sup> The official Chinese calendar, one must remember, was not adopted by the T'u-chueh until 586 *Sui shu* 1

<sup>66</sup> CHAVANNES' study "Le cycle turc des douze animaux," *TP* 1906, 51-122, contains the complete information on the subject

<sup>67</sup> The YU WÊN appear to have been a Mongol speaking clan. Their name, interpreted by *Chou shu* 1 as meaning "lord of heaven (or universe)," is probably to be restored as \**umun* < \**ju-muən*. *T'ang shu* 71 B ascribes to Yu wên the meaning of "grass" and equates it with 侯汾: *b'iuən* (on the pronunciation of the first character, cf. PELLIOR, *TP* 26, 225-229). The Mongol word for "grass" being *ebū + sun* (sun is undoubtedly a suffix), it is clear that the Chinese vacillated between two forms \**ūmun* and \**ebun* for the original of Yu-wên. This fluctuation of *ū ~ e* is indicated in many words of the Mongol written language. Among them we have *ūmūne ~ emune*—"front," "south." It is, therefore, quite possible that it is that word that underlies the Chinese transcription Yu wên, the *Chou shu* explanation being based on the Chinese semantic connotations of "south" "south" > "facing south" > "sovereign" 南面. Cf. also *T'ung Chih* 30, 16a where the surname NAN 南 (= 'south') is said to have been changed under the Northern dynasties into YU WÊN.

<sup>68</sup> *Chou shu* 11, *Pei shih* 57. Murdered on April 12, 572 (*Chou shu* 5), on April 16, according to *Chou shu* 11

<sup>69</sup> The Turks were under the command of the Great Khan Mu-ban 木杆 himself, the Chinese under TA HSI Wu 達奚武 (504-570) and Yang Chung 楊忠 (507-563).

negotiations with the Chou and, in token of his good faith, proposed to liberate the female members of the YU-WÊN family who had been kept as hostages in Ch'i for the past three decades. First setting free one of the four paternal aunts of YU-WÊN HU,<sup>70</sup> KAO Chan detained for a while the last and most important hostage, Hu's mother, and in order to influence more speedily the Chou regent's decision, he had a message written in the old lady's name where she implored her son to effect her release and in touching terms reminded him of the tragic experiences of their family since the year 524 A.D.<sup>71</sup>

In the spring of that year there had flared up on the northern marches of the T'o-pa Wei empire a rebellion which unchained all the dormant subversive forces of the realm and started the process of political disintegration that culminated, a decade later, in the split of the Wei into two rival dynasties and caused eventually the ruin and extinction of the house. Under the leadership of P'o-LIU-HAN Pa-ling 破六韓拔陵,<sup>72</sup> the rebels, consisting chiefly of "barbarian" garrisons of the northern frontier posts overran the important district of Wu-ch'uan 武川.<sup>73</sup> Among the well-to-do families of the vicinity who strove to organize some resistance to the plundering hands was that of a certain YU-WÊN Hung 肱.<sup>74</sup> In a skirmish with a detachment of one of Pa-ling's

the biographies of both in *Chou shu* 19) The raids took place in the 9th and 12th months of 563 (*Chou shu* 5) or 12th month of 563 1st month of 564 (*Ch'i shu* 7) The timing and coordination of the military operations were not very successful, a large contingent was defeated by the Ch'i but the Turks, who turned up in full force, mercilessly devastated the Fen valley. A harsh winter added to the sufferings of the population.

<sup>70</sup> One of them, known as Princess Chien-an 建安長公主, had married HO-LAN Ch'u-chen 賀蘭初真 and was the mother of HO-LAN Hsiang. Another, the Princess Ch'ang-lo 昌樂, married WEI-CH'YI I t'ou 尉遲侯兜 and was the mother of Chiung 迴 and Kang 綱 (*Chou shu* 20, 21) The one who was released in the 6th month of 564 (*Ch'i shu* 7) had married a Yang 楊.

<sup>71</sup> Finally released, she arrived at Ch'ang-an in November 564 where she died in 567 at the age of 80, having been spared the sorrow of witnessing five years later the ruin of her last son and the extinction of her line.

<sup>72</sup> On his surname, cf. *HJAS* 1, 167, n. 1.

<sup>73</sup> Near modern Kuei hua ch'eng Sui yuan.

<sup>74</sup> P'hi Te 德 Huang ti. Two of the leading families of the region were the HO PA 賀拔 and the TU XU. The YU WÊN were allied with the first through marriage.

subalterns WEI K'o-ku 衛可孤,<sup>18</sup> Hung lost his eldest son HAO 顥,<sup>19</sup> Lady YEN's husband and Hu's father. Two years later, Hung, who had been forced to join fortunes with another rebel leader HSIEN-YU Hsiu-li 鮮于修禮, himself perished together with two other sons.<sup>20</sup> Only T'ai, the youngest son, and two grandsons, Tao 導 and Hu, survived the debacle. T'ai, who had succeeded in escaping from the meshes into which the family had fallen and who was shrewdly making his career in the complicated political situation of the day, managed to extricate eventually his two nephews Hu and Tao, together with another nephew HO-LAN Hsiang 賀蘭祥.<sup>21</sup> About 531, they joined him in Shensi and followed him in his climb to power. Lady YU-WÊN had not seen her son since the day when he, "attired in a purple silk robe with a belt decorated with silver," rode away to join his uncle.

"Formerly," begins her letter, "when (our family was) residing at Wu ch'uan I gave birth to you (and your two) brothers, the eldest being horn (in the year) pertaining to the rat, the second, (in the year) pertaining to the hare, and you, (in the year) pertaining to the serpent. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

Now *Chou shu* 10 (biography of YU-WÊN Tao, the second son of Hao) states that Tao died in the twelfth month of the first year of Kung Ti of Wei, January 555 A. D., at the age of forty-four.<sup>23</sup> This would mean that he was born in 510-511 A. D. 511

<sup>18</sup> *Pei shih* 9 writes 可瓊 \*g'a ywai, possibly < mo yaqai—"pig" Cf *Ch'i shu* 50 where the last character of the name KAO A-na hung 高阿那肱 is said to have been pronounced as if written 瓊

<sup>19</sup> Pht Shao hui 邵惠 Kung *Chou shu* 10, *Pei shih* 57

<sup>20</sup> HSIEN YU Hsiu-li's revolt took place in the first month of 526 and he was killed in the ninth month. From lady YU-WÊN's letter it would appear that YU WÊN Hung perished in one of the early skirmishes with government troops Lien 連, the second son, was killed with his father. The third, Lo shêng 洛生, was executed by ERN-CHU Jung probably about 528

<sup>21</sup> According to *Chou shu* 5 and *Pei shih* 10, Hsiang died on March 19, 562. He was 48 at the time of his death (*Chou shu* 20), and was thus born in 515. Indeed, his biography states that he was orphaned at the age of eleven, while in Lady YU-WÊN's letter he is said to be younger than Hu

<sup>22</sup> The passage is noticed in CHAVANNES' study, *op cit* (in note 66), 71, but no observations are made on its significance

<sup>23</sup> Computing, apparently, *a la chinoise*. We do not know, however, whether the nomads followed the Chinese practice of reckoning the period of gestation as a full



was a *hsin-mao* year (the 28th of the sexagenary cycle) and a hare year in the cycle of twelve animals, which would tally perfectly with the statement in Lady YU-wên's letter.

As to Shih-fei 什肥, Hao's eldest son,<sup>81</sup> the same source informs us that he was fifteen years of age at the time of his father's death which, as we know, occurred in 524. This would give us 509-510 for the date of his birth. The nearest rat year is 508 (the 25th of the cycle, *wu-tzū*). The discrepancy is not great and Shih-fei's age as given in *Chou shu* 10 must be considered as approximate.

The same slight difference is also found in the biography of Yu-wên Hu. As stated in his mother's letter, he was born in a year of the serpent, which would fall in 513 A.D. (*kuei-ssü*, the 30th year of the cycle of sixty). His biography says, however, that he was eleven years old at the time of his father's death and seventeen when YU-wên T'ai summoned him to P'ing-liang 平涼 in 531. In her letter his mother states, furthermore, that he was twelve about the time of HSIEN-YU Hsiu-li's defeat, that is in 520. Considering the figures cited as designating Hu's real chronological age, we get for the date of his birth 513, 514, 514 respectively, a very close approximation.

The animal cycle was, then, in use among people of nomadic origin living on the northern frontier of China about 500 A.D. It would seem, moreover, that it was not unusual at that period to adopt the animal cycle designation of the year as the name of a child born within that twelvemonth. One of the clearest indications of that custom is supplied to us by the *Yo-fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 ch. 86 (ed. *Ssü-pu ts'ung k'an*, p. 7 ah). This work quotes a passage from a *Yo-fu kuang t'i* 樂府廣題 which refers to an order issued in 546 by YU-wên T'ai on the occasion of KAO Huan's attack on Yu-pi.<sup>82</sup> YU-wên speaks there of his archenemy as the rat or son of the rat 鼠子.<sup>83</sup> As we know

year of a person's life. It is not impossible that for less important individuals of nomadic extraction age was established in the usual way, counting from the year of birth.

<sup>81</sup> Killed by KAO Huan about 534. A filial son, he remained at Chun yang with his mother. *Chou shu* 10.

<sup>82</sup> For this campaign, see *supra*.

<sup>83</sup> It is not certain whether 子 is to be taken as meaning "son" or whether it was already used as a particle at this period.

from his biography, the founder of the Ch'i house died on February 13, 547 A. D. at the age of fifty-two. He was thus born in 496 A. D. which was a rat year (13th of the cycle, *ping tzü*).

We find another illustration of the custom in the history of the same house. In the biography of KAO Yang 高洋 (pht. Hsien-tsu Wên-hsuan Ti 順祖文宣帝, 529-550-559 A. D.), second son of KAO Huan, *Pei shih* 7, we are told that among the several prophecies which forecast the length of his reign there was a ditty which ran: 馬子入石室三千六百日 "the son of the horse [will] enter the stone chamber [for] 3600 days." The text goes on to explain that the "stone chamber" refers to the Yeh palaces built in the fourth century by SHIH Hu 石虎 "a pun on the character *shih*: (1) stone, (2) the proper name SHIH), and that "3600 days" gives the length of KAO Yang's reign." The latter is called 馬子 "son of the horse" because he was born in a *wu* (cyclical character corresponding to the horse in the animal cycle) year.

A grave difficulty presents itself here. KAO Yang was born in 529 A. D. which was a year of the cock, the nearest horse year being 526. While the prophecy, probably postliminary, cannot be taken too seriously, it would be unsafe to dismiss offhand the specific explanation of the text that "son of the horse" refers to the emperor's birth in a *wu* (horse) year. KAO Yang died on November 25, 559 at the age of 31.<sup>55</sup> Making all possible allowances, he could not have been born before 528-529. At the beginning of his biography in *Pei-shih* 7 it is furthermore, said that he was born at Chin-yang 晉陽 of which his father became

<sup>54</sup> By some, at least, "stone chamber" must have been understood as meaning the grave

<sup>55</sup> He actually reigned less from June 5, 550 to September 25, 559, about 3300 days. *Pei shih* records also that when KAO Yang inquired of a Taoist from T'ai shan how many years were granted to him, the fortune teller replied "Thirty" Later, Yang expressed to the Empress Li his fear that he would not live beyond the 10th day of the 10th month of his 10th year. He died, indeed, on that very day. The characters composing his *men hao* T'ien-pao 天保 were said to be dissected into 一大人只十 "one great man only ten" which was supposed to be another indication of the length of his reign.

<sup>56</sup> Counting in the Chinese fashion. *Ch'i shu* 49, in an account of another prophecy gives him 32 (Chinese) years of age at the time of his death.

governor not before 528. On the other hand, as the family is said to have been in straitened circumstances 家徒壁立 at the time, it could hardly refer to the period when KAO Huan's star was well in the ascendancy.<sup>87</sup> The possibility that KAO Yang was born in 526 is supported by the story contained in both *Ch'i shu* 4 and *Pei shih* 7 that just before his birth the room where his mother resided was lighted at night by a red glare.<sup>88</sup> Now *Pei shih* 6 and *Ch'i shu* 1 relate that when KAO Huan first came to join ERH CHU Jung 爾朱榮 and followed him to Ping chou (of which Chin yang was the administrative seat) he rented there a small room or hut 園宅<sup>89</sup> from a certain PANG Ts'ang yen 龐蒼雁. The several supernatural manifestations observed near the hut by the landlord's family after KAO Huan took up residence in it included a red glare extending up to the sky. The hut was preserved as a shrine exactly in the state it was when the KAOS occupied it and was turned into a palace under KAO Yang. It is quite possible that the latter was thus honoring the place of his birth. It is not improbable, then, that KAO Yang's age at the time of his death is incorrectly given by the historians and that he died in his 34th, and not 31st year.<sup>90</sup> A solution of our difficulty, is, we believe, possible without convicting of falsehood either chroniclers or prophets. In explaining the term "son of the horse" the text of the *Pei shih* says 帝以午年生故曰馬子 "the emperor being born in a *wu* year is therefore spoken of as 'son of the horse'." In the context of the chapter 帝 "the emperor" obviously means KAO Yang. But was it necessarily so in the original document used by the historian? The second of KAO Yang's successors was his brother KAO Chin

<sup>87</sup> In the story of the flight of KAO Huan's family from Tu Lo-chou 杜洛周 which must have taken place in 525-526 *Ch'i shu* 1 mentions among the children only KAO Cheng 澄 and a daughter.

<sup>88</sup> According to *Pei shih* 7 he owed to this supernatural manifestation his Hsien pi name which was Hou ni yu 侯尼于 meaning child of good omen 有相子. One might read the transcription 侯尼干 \*hü-yan and equate it with a hypothetical turco-mongol \*hü-yan—omen. Cf. PELLIER JA 1925 243 244.

<sup>89</sup> Sometimes written with 標 *piau* for 1<sup>st</sup> *ts'au* indicating in our opinion a "BTS-internal in both phonetic groups."

<sup>90</sup> There is no evidence however that the text is corrupt in the passage where his age is given.

who came to the throne some two years after Yang's death<sup>91</sup> Now KAO Chan, who died on January 13, 569 A D at the age of 32 years (*a la chinoise*), was born in 538 which was a horse year (55th of the cycle, *wu wu*) It could well be possible that it is KAO Chan who is to be understood as "the Emperor" of the text (especially if we take the cynical view that the "prophecy" could not have been composed until after Yang's death) The ditty could thus be interpreted as reading "Within 3600 days (after the accession of KAO Yang, another ruler who is) a son of the horse will enter the stone chamber"<sup>92</sup>

We may have a further chronogrammatic reference in another ditty dating according to *Pei shih* 5, from the period of the Wei emperors Hsuan wu 宣武 and Hsiao ming 孝明, that is 500-528 A D, or taking the date ending the reign of the first and beginning that of the second, 515 A D It was supposed to presage YU WEN T'ai's role in the downfall of Wei and ran as follows "As a fox, not a fox, is a badger, not a badger, the sallow-faced (?) son of a dog [will] gnaw asunder the cord" 狐非狐貉非貉佳梨狗子齧斷牽 Wise interpreters, says the *Pei shih*, saw immediately in the cord a reference to the T'o pa (i.e. the 牽頭 "corded [or braided] heads") and in the fox, badger, and son of the dog an allusion to YU WEN T'ai's cognomen which was Hei la 黑獺—"black otter"<sup>93</sup>

In order to ascertain whether the above is just a vague allusion to black otter or whether 狗子 "dog" or "son of the dog" is chronogrammatic we must establish YU WEN T'ai's date of birth This presents a problem His biography in *Chou shu* 2 says that he died on the day *i hai* in the tenth month of the third year of Wei Kung Ti which would correspond to November 21, 556 A D He was 52 years old and was buried on the day *chia shên*, that is but nine days later This is improbable in the light of both Chinese and nomadic customs and the practice of the day About two months were usually required to elapse between the time of

<sup>91</sup> On December 3 561 *Chou shu* 7

<sup>92</sup> The number of days in that case would be of course approximate

<sup>93</sup> It is under that name that he is usually referred to in the *Ch'i shu* The character 獺 was taboo under the Ch'i as being the personal name of one of KAO Huan's ancestors

death (or the official announcement thereof) and the day of burial, unless the will of the deceased directed otherwise. Thus KAO Huan's death was announced on July 19, 547<sup>94</sup> and the burial took place on September 19, 547; Hsuan Ti of Chou died on June 8, 580 and was buried on August 8, 580.<sup>95</sup> Now *Pei shih* 0 reads 50 instead of 52 for YU-WÊN T'ai's age and has . . . 時年五十二月甲申葬 . . . " [he was] at the time [of his death] 50 years of age. On *chia shên* of the 12th month [he] was buried. . . ." The *chia shên* day of the 12th month of that year would correspond to January 21, 557, exactly two months after the day of YU-WÊN T'ai's death. It is obvious that the *Chou shu* telescoped 五十 into 十二月 "12th month" and, omitting 月, produced 五十二 "fifty-two." The *Pei shih* is thus correct and YU-WÊN T'ai was fifty years old at the time of his death in 556. He was then horn in 506-507. As 506 was a dog year (the 23rd of the cycle, *i hsu*) it is quite likely that T'ai was indeed nicknamed "son of the dog." In the early part of his biography, however, his age at the time of HSIEN-YU Hsiu-li's death which occurred in 526 is given as eighteen. This must be considered in the light of the foregoing as approximate or may be the result of a clumsy re-arrangement of the sources used by the historian.<sup>96</sup> The paragraph in question speaks of YU-WÊN T'ai following his father in the latter's campaigns of 524-526, and T'ai's age as given could well refer to the first date 524, when T'ai would have indeed been 18 years old.

We have thus three cases of men horn between 496 and 538 A.D.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. note 20

<sup>95</sup> According to *Pei shih* 10, 11 and *Chou shu* 7, 8 he fell ill on June 8 YANG Chien, who was about to be exiled to Yang chou, "was summoned" to the palace to attend the emperor in his illness and on June 22 the latter died. *Sui shu* 1 gives June 8 as the day of the emperor's death and June 20 as the date of the proclamation of the news. It is quite likely, therefore, that Hsuan Ti was murdered on the very day YANG Chien arrived at the palace and his death was kept secret for a fortnight by Chien and his fellow-conspirators in order to gain time for arranging their affairs. Decrees issued within these 12-14 days were undoubtedly forged as all the sources indicate.

<sup>96</sup> The *Chou shu* text has 少隨德皇帝 . . . The character 少 ("in his youth") appears already some 20 characters above and its repetition is incomprehensible unless the passage in question came from a source other than that of the preceding paragraph. *Pei shih* 0 omits the second 少.

who were known under chronogrammatic nicknames containing animal cycle terms. The custom is, however, much older. In the biography of SHIH Hu 石虎, *Wei shu* 95, it is said that the great Hunnish warrior was seventeen years old in Yung chia 永嘉 5, i. e. 311 A. D., this being the only clue that we have as to Hu's date of birth. He was then born in 296 A. D. which was a tiger year (51st of the cycle, *chia yin*). It appears, then, that SHIH Hu (Hu—"tiger") owed his personal name to his birth in a cyclical year consecrated to the animal that symbolized military prowess. So far as we have been able to establish this is the earliest example of the use of the animal cycle in a nomadic milieu and one of the earliest instances of the chronogrammatic use of an animal term.

There exists a faint possibility that we have a similar use of the animal cycle in the name of SHIH Hu's relative,<sup>77</sup> SHIH Lê 石勒. His personal name Lê, judging from the testimony of *Wei shu* 95, appears to be an abbreviation of Pei lê 陌勒 \*b'wâi lak. As SHIH Lê's Chinese cognomen was Shih lung 世龍 which contains the word *lung*—"dragon," it is not improbable that in \*b'wâi lak we have the transcription of a "turco mongol" word meaning "dragon." One is tempted to compare it with the puzhing \*bīqsun بلقسون (with *-sun* being obviously the well known Mongolian suffix) of Qazwīnī, and equated with "crocodile" in the Qaitaq list.<sup>78</sup> Is the name chronogrammatic? SHIH Lê died on August 17, 333 A. D. at the age of sixty, according to *Shih hu kuo ch'un ch'iu* 13. He was born then in 273 or 274 A. D. The first year was a year of the serpent. According to the same source, SHIH Lê's death was portended in 333 A. D. by the fall of a large meteor which left a trail resembling a serpent, as well as by the death of a large snake following a two day long fight with a rat.

<sup>77</sup> SHIH Hu was adopted by SHIH Lê's father. He is also spoken of as Shih Lê's nephew.

<sup>78</sup> See PELLIOU, Le prétendu vocabulaire mongol des Kaitak. JA 1927 1 289. The first part of the word may represent tk *balīq*—fish' which in IBN MUHANNA's list of the animal cycle terms takes the place of the dragon (cf PELLIOU TP 27 17 18). *Balīq* appears under the Chinese transcription 𪛗𪛗 *mua-lak* as the name of a city in T'u chueh territory (TPHYC 38) the place owing its name to the excellent fish that was found in the nearby river.

In the same source is recorded, however, the appearance in a well of the capital of a black dragon which rejoiced SHIH Lê greatly. Now 272 A. D. was a year of the black dragon and it is possible that SHIH Lê, being born or conceived in that year, considered himself under that cyclical animal's special protection.<sup>99</sup>

Whether the chronogrammatic application of the animal cycle is of Chinese origin, or originated with the nomads is difficult to decide. For the period under consideration, we know only one case of such use of animal terms in the purely Chinese onomasticon. The biography of Ts'ao Hu 曹虎, *Nan Ch'i shu* 30, indicates that that southern Chinese officer was executed in 490 A. D. at the age of "past sixty" 年六十餘. He could thus have been born in 438 A. D. which was a tiger year and may have been given his personal name Hu—"tiger" for that reason.

The same history of the Southern Ch'i gives in ch. 19 several cases of the use of animal chronograms in a prophetic ditty dating from the time of Tung hun hou 東昏侯 (HSIAO Pao-chuan 蕭寶卷),<sup>100</sup> the last emperor of Nan Ch'i. The emperor is referred to as "wild pig" 野豬; he was, indeed, born in 483 A. D., a pig year. Liang Wu Ti (464-502-549) who overthrew him is spoken of as "dragon," and 464 A. D. was a dragon year. HSIAO Ying-ch'ou 蕭穎胄 462-501)<sup>101</sup> is alluded to as "tiger," 462 being a tiger year. The same ditty contains an unidentifiable reference to a 馬子 "(son of the) horse." The study of the chronogrammatic use of the animal cycle in China proper constitutes, however, a larger problem beyond the scope of the present investigation.

<sup>99</sup> It must be remembered that SHIH Lê, having reached the age of sixty, must have been in fear for his life as the custom of putting to death (or at least setting aside) rulers who had reached that age must have been a living tradition during the period. See notes 42, 45, 46.

<sup>100</sup> *Nan Ch'i shu* 7, *Nan Ch'i shu* 5. Also called Fei Ti 廢帝—"the deposed emperor." Murdered on December 31, 501 A. D., at the age of 19 (Chinese).

<sup>101</sup> *Nan Ch'i shu* 35.

明代文字獄禍考略

A STUDY OF LITERARY PERSECUTION DURING  
THE MING \*

BY

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In the three periods of K'ang-hsi, Yung-chêng, and Ch'ien-lung of the Ch'ing Dynasty, literary persecution was especially cruel. This was due to a foreign race which came to rule over China, [the Manchus] at first being unable to command the respect of the people. Generally Chinese scholars and officials took strict precaution to uphold the distinctions between Chinese and barbarian, but under the circumstances they could do nothing but resort to veiled satire. This being the situation, their words and writings were spied on and scrutinized; if they did not use every care they suffered the severest punishments. If one will now look over the judicial records of that time and consider the ones who suffered and paid the extreme penalty, together with those innocents who were implicated, one will find them innumerable. Even if the day be not cold, one will shudder.

But is this true of the Ch'ing Dynasty alone? No, certainly not. Because of a phrase: "The droppings of swallows fall from the empty cross beams," and because of an ode to [Sui] Kao-tsu

\* *The Eastern Miscellany*. 東方雜誌. v 32, no 14, July 16, 1935, pp 21-34. All footnotes and annotations in square brackets in the text are supplied by the translator. The translator is grateful for help received at many points from his colleagues in the Department of Chinese and Japanese, and from members of the staff of the College of Chinese Studies, Peking. He only regrets that it has been impossible to show the completed manuscript to the author, who would doubtless have made a number of corrections.



[reigned 590-604] Hsien Tao-hêng 薛道衡 [540-609] was killed.<sup>14</sup>  
Because of the lines:

Pray, when in the palace of Han  
Could be likened unto her,  
Save the lady, Flying Swallow, newly dressed  
In all her loveliness!<sup>15</sup>

Li Po was dismissed from office. These are examples of literary persecution. Thus it has been ever since Ch'in and Han, and we do not know how often persecutions have occurred. From this we can see that no dynasty has been without them, but the worst offender was the house of Ch'ing.<sup>16</sup>

For the three hundred years of the Ming do the archives still exist? Can the cases of literary persecution be sought out? Yes, we have them; but the cases of severest persecution occurred at the beginning of the Ming. At the threshold of his career the first emperor of the Ming was a heggar, and illiterate. Then after capturing Chin-hua 金華 [in Chekiang] he invited Liu Chi 劉基 [1311-1375] and Sung Lien 宋濂 [1310-1381] by means of presents and discussed various matters with them in the camp from morning to night. After obtaining possession of Ch'u-chou 滁州 [in Anhui], Fan Ch'ang 范常<sup>1</sup> went to see him, and was retained on his staff. After taking T'ai-p'ing [in Anhui], he summoned T'ao An 陶安 [1315-1371] as an advisor. When he occupied Chi-ch'ing

<sup>14</sup> Since the then reigning emperor, Yang 楊 (605-617), is said to have assassinated his father, he resented praise of him (See *T'u shu chi ch'eng* 29, 159). And since he was proud of his literary skill he was envious of Hsien Tao-hêng, whose ability is shown in the line quoted (See *Chêng P'in yü* 鄭賓于, *Chung kuo wên hsieh lu-pien shih* 中國文學流變史 2, 5, 182-3). Accordingly the veteran scholar was found guilty of an offense and subsequently executed. *Sui shu* 57 18a says that he was put to death for declaring in a speech, promptly reported to Yang Ti, "If Kao Kung 高穎 (executed 607) had not died, the new laws would long ago have been put into effect."

<sup>15</sup> Translation by OBATA, *The Works of Li Po, the Chinese Poet*, #7. It was this song, says OBATA (pp. 13-14), "that helped cut short the gay and prodigal career of the poet at the court. KAO Li shih, the powerful eunuch . . . persuaded YANG kuei fei that the poet had intended a malicious satire in his poem by comparing her with Lady Flying Swallow, who was a famous court beauty of the Han dynasty, but who was unfaithful and never attained the rank of empress."

<sup>16</sup> Cf. GOODRICH, L. C., *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung*.

<sup>1</sup> A native of Ch'u-chou. Cf. *Ming shih* 135 5a.

其慶 [in Kiangsu], he employed Hsia Yu 夏煜,<sup>2</sup> Sun Yen 孫炎 [1323-1362], Yang Hsien 楊憲,<sup>3</sup> and other men to the number of ten or more. When he seized Chên-chiang [in Kiangsu], he heard of a great scholar Ch'in Yuan-lung 秦元龍,<sup>4</sup> whom he invited to his side with gifts. [21b] From the time he crossed the River [Yangtze] to the moment of his ascension to the throne he gathered about himself the statesmen of real worth and was respectful to the scholars. He pursued studies with energy and enjoyed asking questions. Men of ability clustered about him. In due course he was able to make use of the literary medium with skill, came to be learned in ancient and modern history, and developed into the greatest ruler of his time. Truly a superior sovereign.

Although his success in literature was due to heaven-sent gifts and to his own tireless energy, nevertheless, at a time when his scholarship was still incomplete, he occasionally ordered executions of scholars through misunderstanding literary passages. Consequently, although he sought out and summoned the virtuous by oft repeated proclamations, there were very many scholars in retirement who did not respond. As an example, take YANG Wei-chên 楊維禎 [1296-1370], who, when called to the capital to compile the Book of Etiquette 禮書,<sup>5</sup> begged permission after a hundred days to lay down his bones in his native place. At the point of his departure, SUNG Lien indited a poem in his honor saying: "You have been plucked from those of common cloth, and to them you return." Other examples are those of HU Han 胡翰 [1307-1381], CHIAO Hsun 趙璜,<sup>6</sup> and CH'EN Chi 陳基 [1314-1370], who, although called to prepare the [Yuan] history, did not wish to accept positions and returned [home]. In a large majority of cases their reason was that the meshes of the net of the law were too fine: one error on things under

<sup>1</sup> A poet from Chiang ning, or Nanking. See *Ming shih* 135 7a.

<sup>2</sup> A native of Yang-ch'ü, Shansi. *Ming shih* 295 14a.

<sup>3</sup> Correct to Ch'in Ts'ung 從 -lung tzu Yuan chih 元之. He was a native of Loyang, Honan. *Ming shih* 135 2a.

<sup>4</sup> A work in 41 chüan, commenced the 5th moon of 1369 and completed the following year. *Ming shih* 97 15a and 285 14b.

<sup>5</sup> A native of Hsin yü, Kiangsi. *Ming shih* 285 10b.

taboo, and it was difficult to escape destruction. Accordingly they cast away their opportunities for glory as though they were battered shoes. There were also people in the palace like LIU Chi and SUNG Lien who died ignobly. Similarly the scholars HSU I-k'uei 徐一夔, SU Po-hêng 蘇伯衡, CHANG Mêng chien 張孟兼, FU Shu 傅恕, and HSU Wên 徐賁<sup>7</sup> all met untimely deaths. Although the circumstances in each case were different, still the cause of offense was invariably literary talent.<sup>8</sup>

The various types of literary persecution under the Ming may be divided into six. (1) *pao-chien* 表箋 memorials of congratulation presented to the sovereign, (2) *tsou-su* 奏疏 memorials on questions of empire, (3) *k'o-ch'ang* 科場 civil examinations, (4) *hsiu-shu* 修書 preparation of books, (5) *chun-chiang* 進講 explanation of books to his majesty, and (6) *shih-chu* 詩句 poetry. I shall discuss these seriatim.

### 1. Memorials of congratulation.

At the outset of the Ming it was promulgated that on the first day of the New Year, on the celebration of the sovereign's birth-

<sup>7</sup> Natives respectively of T'ien t'ai Chin hua, Pu-chiang and Ch'i (in Chekiang), and Ch'ang-chou (in Kiangsu) *Ming shih* 285 14b, 4b, 13b, 12a, and 21b

<sup>8</sup> Liu Chi died on the administration of a dose by a physician invited by HU Wei yung 胡惟庸 (d 1380) to tend him while sick. TU Chieh 汾節 (d 1380) reported to the emperor after Liu's death that HU had in fact poisoned LIU, and had ambitions of seizing the throne. It does not seem from the *Ming shih* as though the emperor had anything but good feelings towards LIU, yet HU is said to have been ordered to visit LIU on his sick bed. Cf. *Ming shih* 128 1a. SUNG Lien was exiled in 1380 to Mou-chou, Szech'uan, and died at K'uei-chou in the same province. The emperor had wanted to kill him because his grandson Shen 慎 was found guilty of belonging to the party of HU Wei yung, but the empress and heir apparent stood up for him. *Ibid* 128 8b. According to the *Ming shih*, HSU I-k'uei seems to have left office with presents from the emperor and to have suffered no ill fate. But see below, p. 263. SU Po-hêng was invited to court in 1388. A little later, as educational commissioner of Ch'ü-chou Anhui, he wrote a *pao-chien* (see below) for which he was imprisoned and died. CHANG Mêng-chien was an official in Shantung. The lieutenant governor of the province, a Buddhist monk named WU Yin 吳印, disliked him, and on his complaint CHANG was arrested and beaten. Later the emperor had him executed. FU Shu, as magistrate of Po-yeh, Chihli became implicated in the misdeeds of another person, and was put to death. HSÜ, when senior lieutenant governor of Honan, was found guilty of an infraction in connection with the supply of food to the imperial troops, who were on their way to Kansu. Put in prison, he died there of illness.

day, on the day of presentation of honorary appellations to the imperial mother and the imperial paternal grandmother, and on such festive occasions as the designation of the heir [22a] apparent, all civil and military officials inside and outside the capital were obliged to submit congratulatory missives. The first emperor took exception to the moral code of the Yuan which he found irregular; so at the beginning of the Ming the whole administrative system had to be overhauled and stated afresh, and examples of memorials of congratulation and of memorials on matters of state had to be published, called *Chien-yen-ko-shih* 建言格式 [Models of how to write], *Fan-wén-chien-chieh* 繁文鑑戒 [Mirror of direct utterance], *Piao-chien-ting-shih* 表箋定式 and [Patterns of letters of felicitation]. All officials and people were required to write in accordance with imperial dictation. On the day *keng-hsu*, 9th moon, 6th year of Hung-wu [Sept. 28, 1373], the emperor ordered the doing away with the *tz'ü* 辭 of four characters and six characters to the line, and had the *piao* by LIU Tsung-yuan 柳宗元 [773-819], thanking LIU Kung-ch'o 柳公綽 [768-830], and the *piao* by HAN Yu 韓愈 [768-824] in congratulation for rain taken as models of such memorials, and published throughout the empire, declaring to all ministers: "The phrases in the books of T'ang 唐, Yü 虞, and the three dynasties—Tien, Mu, Hsin, Kao<sup>\*</sup>—are all simple and sincere and not flowery, making an example for millions of generations. The [writings of] Han and Wei also retain some of the directness of older times. With the Chin and Sung and later the style declined, the parallel structure appeared, and the spirit of ancient writing completely evaporated. At the period of T'ang and Sung many noted scholars emerged, but although they wanted to change the spirit they were not successful. At the present day, the utterances from the throne and the writing submitted thereto (*chih* 制, *kao* 誥, *chang* 章, *piao* 表) follow previous practice. I have become sated with this elaborate style. It is quite different from the old manner, and the inflated style of literature all the more covers up the true meaning. Beginning with today the phrases in all my decrees to officials great and small will be couched

\* Cf. LEGGE, *Chinese Classics*, 3, 1, pt. 1, 15, 52, 177, 191.

in the terse style of the ancients, and will be stripped of fraudulent adornment. Do you secretaries make known to all officials and people, Chinese and foreign, that in the preparation of memorials both of congratulation and on matters of state business they must not use the four and six word parallel construction, but must follow in every respect the *tien* 典 and *ya* 雅."<sup>10</sup> (*T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 太祖實錄.<sup>11</sup>)

In the seventh moon of the 14th year of Hung-wu [1381], the emperor again fixed the rules of decorum for the submission of congratulatory letters to the throne. In the wording of such missives none was to employ phrases in pairs, but was to copy *tien* and *ya*. As to the avoidance of the imperial name and of the names of imperial ancestors, only when the two names come together must they both be avoided in accordance with ancient rites.<sup>12</sup> Words of like sound need not be tabooed,<sup>13</sup> but all unlucky words are to be shunned. (*T'ai-tsu shih-lu*.<sup>14</sup>) At first he did away with the four and six character construction in favor of ordinary writing, and from that change in style proceeded to name taboos and unlucky words.

In the 6th and 14th years [1373, 1381] the models for congratulatory letters were fixed, but after a considerable length of time the rules fell into neglect; many of the *piao chien* of the officials from all over China reverted to type, being artful and using the parallel construction. The emperor abominated this; so again in the 7th moon of the 29th year [1396]<sup>15</sup> he instructed the Han-lin scholar Liu San-wu 劉三吾<sup>16</sup> and the junior assistant

<sup>10</sup> That is, the classical style of the *Shu* and *Shih*, cf. *Ch' Cl* 3, 1, pt. 1, 15.

<sup>11</sup> For a description of the *shih-lu*, or Veritable Records, of each dynasty, and their whereabouts in China, see *Chiao Shih wen* 趙士煒 *Shih-lu Hsiao* 實錄考, *Fu-jen hsiieh chih* 輔仁學誌 5, 1 and 2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the *Li chi*, translated by Legge, *S B E* 27, 199. "When a name was composed of two characters they were not avoided when used singly."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Ming lu chi chieh fu li* 明律集解附例 (first publ. 1397), ed. of 1610, reprinted 1908, 3 7b-9b.

<sup>14</sup> Thus also appears in *Ta Ming hui tien* 大明會典 75, especially last p.

<sup>15</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>16</sup> A native of Ch'ia ling, Hunan, he came into the emperor's service in 1385 at the age of 73 sui, he was exiled in 1397, but recalled in 1399, when he died. *Ming shih* 137 1a.

secretary of the supervisorate of instruction WANG Chün-hua 王俊華 to execute a model for the *piao chien* which congratulated the emperor and which thanked him for his mercy, and to proclaim it to all officers, ordering them to follow these examples for the purposes mentioned. From this moment everyone hewed to the line without transgression, and so the *piao chien* became a merely formal document. Before the form was fixed, very many of the officers of the empire who submitted *piao chien* suffered punishment; [22b] afterwards there were still those who suffered and were not forgiven, but their number was not so great. According to the *Ch'ao yeh i wên lu* 朝野異聞錄 all the officials who had to submit *piao chien* commanded the educational officials to draft them. Because of his suspicious nature there occurred during [this monarch's] reign such examples [of condign punishment] as the following:

(1) LIN Yuan-liang 林元亮, the director of studies of a prefecture in Chekiang, who made a *piao* for an official of the military station 衛 of Hai-mên [in Kiangsu], thanking the court for an addition in salary, was executed for a *piao* containing the words: 作則垂憲 "Becoming the pattern you favor us with a virtuous model."

(2) The suh-director of studies of Pei-p'ing-fu [modern Peking], CHAO Po-ning 趙伯寧, who made a *piao* for the first captain 都司 on the occasion of the emperor's birthday, was put to death because it contained the phrase: 垂子孫而作則 "You are the pattern for our descendants."

(3) The suh-director of studies of Foochow, LIN Po-ching 林伯璵, who composed a *piao* for the provincial judge on the occasion of the winter festival, was executed for the words: 儀則天下 "Your decorum is a model for the empire."

(4) The suh-director of studies of Kuei-lin [in Kuangsi], CHANG Chih 蔣質, for writing a *piao* for the lieutenant governor and provincial judge on the New Year, was put to death for the words: 建中作則 "As a figure of virtue, you make a pattern."

"Tzu 懷之: a poet, one of the pupils of Li Hsing 林鴻 of Fu-ch'ing, Fukien, then one of the leading poets *Ming shih kao* 207. 2b

(5) CHIANO Chên 蔣鎮, the sub-director of studies of Ch'ang-chou-fu [in Kiangsu], for writing a *piao* for his prefect, was executed for the words: 斧性生知 "Your divine spirit gives birth to wisdom."

(6) MÊNG Ch'ing 孟清, the director of studies of Li-chou [Hunan], for composing a *piao* of congratulation for his prefect on the occasion of the winter festival, was executed because it contained the words: 聖德作則 "The holy virtue acts as a pattern."

(7) CHOU Mien 周冕, the sub-director of studies of Ch'ên-chou [Honan], for writing a *piao* for his department magistrate on the occasion of the imperial birthday, was put to death for the words: 壽域千秋 "May you live for a thousand years."

(8) The sub-director of studies of Huai-ch'ing-fu [Honan], LÜ Jui 呂芥, for drawing up a *piao* for his prefect in thanks for the presentation of a horse, was executed for the phrase: 遙瞻帝扉 "Looking up from afar at the imperial gate."

(9) CHIA Chu 賈竊, the district director of studies of Hsiang-fu-hsien [Honan], for drafting a *piao* for his magistrate at the New Year's season, forfeited his life for the words: 取法象魏 "You have adopted the methods of the imperial gate."<sup>18</sup>

(10) The sub-director of studies of Po-chou [Anhui], LIN Yün 林雲, for writing a *chien*<sup>19</sup> for his prefect in thanks to the heir apparent for presenting him with a feast, was put to death for the sentence: 式君父以班爵祿 "You have followed the example of your sovereign father in conferring nobility and emolument."

(11) Hsu Yuan 許元, educational director of Yu-shih-hsien [Honan], for composing a *piao* for his prefect on the imperial birthday, forfeited his life for the words: 體乾法坤, 藻飾太平 "Forming one with Heaven and taking Earth as model, you have as adornment an era of peace."

(12) WU Hsien 吳憲, the sub-director of studies of Tê-an-fu [Kiangsi], was put to death because he wrote a *piao* for his prefect on the subject of raising [the emperor's] grandson to the position

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Biot, E., *Le Tcheou-ki ou Rites des Tcheou*, I, 34, n. 6

<sup>19</sup> A *chien* is written to the heir apparent, a *piao* to the emperor

of heir apparent<sup>20</sup> containing the sentence: 永紹億年. 天下有道, 望拜青門 "May your connecting years last for-ever; the empire then will have virtue; I lift up my eyes to the heir apparent's [palace] gate in reverence."

The reason for the penalties exacted of [the composers of] the above listed *piao chien* springs from the homophonic nature of certain words employed. 賊 *tse* sounding like 賊 *tsei* "thief," 生知 *shēng chih* like 僧智 *sēng chih* "a monk's wisdom," 帝昀 *ti fei* like 帝非 *ti fei* "the emperor is mistaken," 法坤 *fa k'un* like 髮髡 *fa k'un* "a shaven pate," 有道 *yu tao* like 有盜 *yu tao* "there are bandits [abroad]," 弑君父 *shih chun fu* like 弑君父 *shih chun fu* "to murder sovereign and father," 茂飾太平 *tsao shih t'ai p'ing* like 早失太平 *tsao shih t'ai p'ing* "early lose the state of peace"

[23a] The *Hsien chung chun ku lu* 明中今古錄 by HUANG P'u 黃溥<sup>21</sup> records that "CHUANG Ching-kao 蔣欽高 of Hsiang-shan [Chekiang], a scholar who lived at the end of the Yuan, and who after the dynastic turnover accepted office in his own district as director of studies, was made to suffer the extreme penalty for a *piao chien* written to the emperor, being beheaded in the market place at Nanking. His punishment was brought about by a word from the chief ministers to the throne. In the year chia-tzū of Hung-wu [1384] examinations were recommended for the selection of scholarly officials and to encourage literature<sup>22</sup> The loyal officials [viz. those who had helped in the winning of empire] took umbrage over this step. The emperor consequently explained. 'When the times are upset force is required.' Whereupon all deserving officials replied: 'This, of course, is true, but these

<sup>20</sup> This refers to the youth who succeeded the first emperor, his period being known as Chien wén. He was appointed heir apparent in 1392. *Ming shih* 4 1a.

<sup>21</sup> According to the *Shao fu* 說郛 *hsū* 續 20 7a, his name was Huang P'u yen 言, and he was native of Ssū ming, Chekiang. But according to the *Yin hien chih* 鄞縣志 55 23b, his name was Huang P'u, he was a native of Yin (Ningpo) and the author of *Chien chi : wen* 簡籍遺聞 (noticed in the *Ssū k'u* catalogue 126 3a) as well as the *Hsien chung chin ku lu*, a work in 2 chüan. He was the grandson of HUANG Jun yu 潤王 (1389-1477).

<sup>22</sup> The first examination in the Hung wu period took place in 1371 and the next in 1385. See *T : ming pei lu* 提名碑錄.



fellows are expert at satire and abuse. At first their meaning is not perceived. For example, CHANG Chiu ssu 張九四 who truly respected scholarship, when asked what his name was replied Shih ch'eng 士誠 'the perfect knight'. The emperor declared 'This name is a very beautiful one.' To which his ministers gave answer, 'Mencius has the sentence Shih-ch'eng is a mean man 士誠小人也.'<sup>22</sup> What indeed does he know?' The emperor accordingly scrutinized all the *piao chien* which came from the entire country, and this started the series of calamities. Before this there had been black gases between the lunar mansions *k'uei* 奎 and *pi* 壁 [the 15th and 14th]. The emperor gazed upwards and noticed that they did not dissipate for several years, he wanted to encourage literature to make them vanish. Who would have supposed that this foreshadowed the troubles resulting from *piao chien*?

The *Hsien chung chin ku lu* also adds [this item]. The director of studies of Hangchow, Hsu I k'uei [*v supra* p. 257] drafted a congratulatory memorial containing the words 九天之下，天生聖人，爲世作則 'Beneath the resplendent sky a sage has been born to serve as a pattern'. When the emperor saw this, he was incensed and said, 'Sheng 生 stands for *seng* 僧, he is trying to make me out a monk, *kuang* 光 means shaven, the sound of the word *tse* 則 approaches that of *tsei* 賊 thief'. So he beheaded Hsu. The officials of the board of ceremonial were terrified, and for this reason begged him to draw a model, whereupon the emperor himself wrote one and published it for the whole empire.

The *Ming shih Wen yuan chuan* 明史文苑傳<sup>23</sup> relates that Su Po heng [*v supra* p. 257] *tzu* 平仲, a native of Chin hui, was an individual of particularly intuitive and ready intelligence and extremely learned. At the beginning of the Ming he was recommended to the throne, and on being summoned to an audience was appointed Hanlin compiler, second class, but he begged leave and retired. In the 10th year of Hung wu [1377] the scholar SUNG Lien wished to resign. The emperor asked who

<sup>22</sup> This is a misinterpretation of the phrase. LEGGE properly renders it I (Shih) am indeed a small man. See *Ch'ü* 2 231.

<sup>23</sup> See *Ming shih* 285 4b-5a.

could take his place. SUNG answered: 'Po-hêng. He bails from my own district. His learning is profound, his ethics are correct, and his literary skill classic.' So the emperor asked him to appear in audience. When he again sought leave on account of illness, his majesty presented him with clothes and money and let him go. In the 21st year [1388] he was invited to direct the metropolitan examinations. This finished, he again asked to be relieved and retired. Later on, while director of studies of Ch'u-chou, for a congratulatory memorial in which the emperor discovered mistakes, he was taken into custody and died."<sup>25</sup>

The *T'ai-tsu shih lu* relates: [23b] "On the day *chi-yu*, 12th moon, 28th year of Hung-wu [January 30, 1396] the King of Korea, YI Dan 李旦 [reigned 1393-98], appointed RYU KU 柳珣<sup>26</sup> and others as envoys to China to present a *piao* and tribute, and congratulate the emperor on the first day of his 29th reign year. When T'ai-tsu saw that the phraseology of the letter was not bumble he said to the officials of the board of ceremonial: 'In relations between a country which is small and one which is large, the most important element in etiquette is the wording of its messages. On several previous occasions the King of Chosun, YI Dan, has been offensive,—a matter which we have already had to call in question. Hardly had an envoy sent to seek our pardon returned than he has again used words of disrespect. It is not because I cannot punish him, but men of ancient times have said: "A military expedition in a distant land is not a good thing." Consequently I shall not despatch an army on this account. For the present I shall hold this envoy here, and transmit a message to YI Dan telling him to send the writer of his *piao*

<sup>25</sup> The *Ming shih* 285 5a adds that his two sons lost their lives trying to save their father

<sup>26</sup> This writing of his name corresponds with that given in SEYO Makuma *Chosenshi taiken, kinseishi* 瀬野馬熊, 朝鮮史大系, 近世史 (publ by the Soc for the study of Korean history, Seoul, 1927). 24, where he is called grand secretary. But I can find no biography of such a person. In the *Ming shih* 154 20a and 320 6a and *Ming shih lao* 136 20b and *ieh chuan* 194 6a, the name is written RYU SUN 珣. In the *Tong kouk tong kam* 東國通鑑 (Courant, Bibl Cor #1851) 56 22 a RYU KU is mentioned who, in 1391, outranked CHYENG To-chen (*v infra*), being president of the National Academy, while CHYENG was governor of Pyeng-yang

here before I let the envoy return. Then we shall know what has caused this annoyance.' Ku stated that the message had been written by his countryman CHYENG To-chen 鄭道傳.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly To chen was sent for by name. Soon afterwards, Ku was set free, and allowed to return home."

It likewise reports: "On the day *ping-ch'ên*, 9th moon, 29th year [October 3, 1396], Yi Dan sent CHO Ban 趙胖<sup>28</sup> and others hearing tribute of gold and silver ornaments, cloth mats, etc., to congratulate the emperor on his birthday. Likewise he sent his minister KWUN Chung-wha 權仲和<sup>29</sup> and others to express gratitude. Yi had already, on account of the *piao* with the rude and insulting phrases, ordered the arrest of the author. Wherefore Yi Dan had sent Chung-wha to the court saying, 'Your small subject state is completely without guile, and would not dare to be wanting in respect even in the slightest degree. But the

<sup>27</sup> For biographical notices see *Kouk cho in mul ki* 國朝人物志 1 2-4 and CH'EN Ch'ien 1 錢謙益 (1592 1664) *Laeh ch'ao shih chi* 列朝詩集 6 19. He first served the Wang Dynasty, but as that house began to totter he supported Yi Dan becoming the commander of the right division of Yi's army in 1391. (See *T'u shu chi ch'êng* 8 23.) He died in 1398 in the palace revolution preceding the enthronement of the next Korean king. Both CH'EN Ch'ien 1 and CHU I tsun 朱彝尊 (1629 1700) cite him in their collections of Ming poets. (See *Ming shih chung* 明詩綜 95 6.) He was one of the compilers of the original *Koryu sa* 高麗史 (Courant, *Bibl Cor* # 1846), now lost (?), and other works, and built the palace of Yi Dan.

<sup>28</sup> Poet, calligrapher, and soldier, who claimed direct descent from the first Sung emperor. He became acquainted with the Ming sovereign in the Mongol campaigns of the 1360's, had lived in China, and could speak Chinese. He served his prince, as first envoy of the Yi house to Nanking in 1392 and again in 1394/5. *Kouk cho in mul ki* 1 22.

<sup>29</sup> The compilers of the *T'ai-tru shih lu* have made a mistake in the name of the minister, if we may trust his Korean biographer (*Kouk cho in mul ki* 1 5). KWUN Chung-wha was an important servant of the Korean king; but as attention is made in his biography of this mission to China. The official sent was KWUN Keun 權近 (*ibid* 1 4 and 11 12) who first served the house of Wang 王 and was one of the compilers of the *Tong kouk sa ryak* 東國史略 (Courant, *Bibl Cor* # 1847). His biography reads at this point as follows: "Kwun Keun volunteered to go, saying to the king, 'It was CHYENG Tsong [*v infra*] and I who had a hand in the *piao* and *chien*. Therefore I ought to go and handle this affair.' Yi Dan replied, 'You do not have to go.' Keun answered 'If I go the Ming emperor may forgive us.' The king was pleased and let him go. Whereupon Keun went to Nanking. Ming T'ai tsu did not press the issue, but called him an honest man. The following year he returned to Chosun."

larship of outsiders is coarse and shallow, and makes us ignorant of the form for congratulatory messages at court; hence errors in our language. After receiving your command, we not know what to do, because we were afraid. So, to honor majesty on your birthday, we did not dare to send a message, have despatched our minister Chung-wha to render our felicitous to the emperor in person.' "

On the day *ting-mao* of the same moon [October 14, 11 days later], it records that "the Korean king sent CHYENG Tsong 鄭 and others, three in all, who had written the [offensive] patch, but said that CHYENG To-chen was sick and could not come, and that Tsong and the rest had really been the ones who passed the message. The emperor remarked to the officials of the board of ceremonial, 'Chosun has now sent several scholars. Do not let them return, because they know a little about civilization but are unfamiliar with its true essence; therefore they use what little knowledge they possess to make sport and ridicule us. If Chosun is ruined it will be because of these scholars. . . . The ancients have said, "To aid your master in accordance with the *tao*, force must not be used to subdue the pirate." These scholars have not measured the power of their king, and they have dared as a small enemy to oppose us; hence they have made light of us, and they have stirred up ill feeling, bringing the people in consequence. Send a messenger to Chosun informing [the court] not to employ [24a] these individuals. Let them be held in our capital. And confer on them, besides, trifling offices, in order to put to an end the woes of the king's ministers.' "

Again: "On the day *chia-yin* [the first day] of the first moon of the 30th year of Hung-wu [January 29, 1397], the emperor said to the ministers of the board of ceremonial, 'Since kings of old princes of feudal states have had to have upright men

<sup>1</sup> Here again the *T'ai-tsu shih lu* editors seem to have erred. So also the *Ming shih* 320 6b and *Ming shih kao,ieh chuan* 194 6a. In Korean sources and in Seno'o kuma, *op cit* (in note 26) 24, the given name is written 摠, and his biography *Kouk cho in mul ki* 1 17 confirms the above. He shared with CHYENG To-chen the compilation of the lost *Koryu-sa*. He was held for a time in Nanking and then sent to Ta li wei, Yunnan, dying on the road.

as their vassals; then their territory would flourish. When they employed men of no character, turmoil was the inevitable result. Through the dictates of Heaven the king of Chosun Yi Dan has succeeded to the throne as the Wang Dynasty was brought to an end. Accordingly Yi came into possession of the three Han 韓, and restored its former name of Chosun. Ceremony was based on tradition, law observed the ancient formulae, and the method of ruling the country was correctly initiated. How does it happen that now he is short-sighted, and gives no thought to underlying principles? His chief ministers are men without depth and substance and are incapable of helping their prince as they should. In drawing up *piao* and *chien* they seek out and utilize words which may cause ruin, and place him in an intolerable position. What use are such followers? Although in my opinion it does not seem essential, nevertheless the gods are wise and punishment may not be withheld. Do you officials of the board of ceremonial transmit therefore a letter to the king of Chosun, making him aware of my views.'"

On the day *ping-hsu*<sup>21</sup> of the 3rd moon [1397], the record continues: "Because RYU Ku and others had received the emperor's pardon and been sent back, the Korean king Yi Dan despatched his cabinet minister SUL Chang-soo 徐長壽<sup>22</sup> to thank the emperor for his mercy. The emperor declared to the officials of the board of ceremonial, 'In ancient times Tzŭ-ch'an 子產<sup>23</sup> of the state of Chêng 鄭 was accustomed, in making up the draft of an order, to discuss it with his advisers, and to amend and correct it. Not until it had passed through many hands was it delivered. For this reason people called the state of Chêng well governed. But as CHYENG To-chen and the rest are men of no account, who among the king's ministers are going to help him to a satisfactory status? If he again employs CHYENG Tsong, No In-to 盧仁度, and KIM Yak-han 金若恆 in Chosun, CHYENG To-chen will once more become his chief aid. Now since CHYENG Tsong and the

<sup>21</sup> The cyclical date is either a slip of the author or printer, or of the original source, for it does not fall in the third moon.

<sup>22</sup> Died in exile shortly after this mission. *Kouk cho in mul* 1: 18.

<sup>23</sup> KUŶ-GUN Ch'iao of the 6th century B.C. Giles, *Bio. Dict.* #1029.

others are not forgiven, if the king is not careful he will again put himself in another's hand. Now I order this king of Chosun to ponder this situation very thoughtfully in order to save the three Han."

From this we can see that the mistake of Chosun, in its *piao* and *chuen*, was repeatedly being cautioned by imperial warning, until in the 10th moon of the 30th year of Hung wu [1397] its ministers presented the throne with a petition the words of which were disrespectful. As before, their envoys were detained. In the 4th moon of the 31st year [1398],<sup>34</sup> because Chosun still maintained CHYENG To chen in office, the emperor once more ordered the board of ceremonial to reprove Chosun for its impenitence, and to warn it against future cause for regret, and on the pretext of repeated troubles with Chosun, [24b] he wanted to raise an army to chastise it. In ancient days it was said 一言喪邦 "One word will destroy a kingdom." I believe this to be no exaggeration. The *Kuo ch'u shih chi* 國初事蹟<sup>35</sup> has a passage on this incident, to wit "The king of Korea, Yi Sung lei 李成桂 (Dan 旦), submitted *piao chuen* containing words which insulted the emperor. T'ai tsu held his envoys to blame, and assumed that CHYENG Chip 集 (i.e. CHYENG Tsong) had drafted the documents. Such articles of tribute as had been sent T'ai tsu returned and demanded that the writer responsible for the *chuen*, namely CHYENG, be brought [to Nanking]. [Yi] Dan was afraid, so he made CHYENG Chip go to the capital.<sup>36</sup> T'ai tsu had him punished

<sup>34</sup> The emperor died shortly after on June 24 1398.

<sup>35</sup> This occurs in *ts'e* 子 of the manuscript copy belonging to my colleague Mr. Ch'chen WANG. The work is in one *chuan* is dated Yung lo 9 2 20 or March 14 1411 and is noticed in the *Ssu-Lu* catalogue (*tsun mu* section) 50 9b-10a. It is by Liu Chên 劉辰 of Chin hua Chekiang who flourished in the first three reigns of the Ming and helped prepare the *T'ai-tsu shih lu*. He died ca. 1419 at the age of 78 *su* (Ming shih 150 9a).

<sup>36</sup> Mr. Ku Chieh kang must have a defective copy of the *Kuo ch'u shih chi*. The passage reads in Mr. Wang's text as follows: 太祖罪其使者併稱 [not 併稱] 姓鄭名某 [not 集] 撰文。太祖將 [not 以其] 所貢金鞍等方 [last 4 characters omitted by Mr. Ku] 物發還李旦 [last 2 characters omitted by Mr. Ku] 追要厚撰箋文姓鄭者旦俱 [Mr. Ku writes more correctly 懼 卽] 以鄭某 [not 集] 送至 [not 送] 方。 which may be translated: T'ai tsu held his envoys to blame but they deposed that a certain one by the clan name of CHYENG had composed it. Accord

hy exiling him to Yunnan, and in addition, commanded the first captain of Liao-tung to forbid Koreans from crossing the border, and to stop foreign merchants from trade forever." According to the *Shih lu*: "He conferred small offices upon CHYENG Tson and his associates." The *Shih lu* also says, "Since CHYENG Tson and the rest are forgiven," as if Tson and his companions were not able to escape decapitation. The *Shih chi*, however, has it "despatched in exile to Yunnan." There is no way of knowing which is correct. Nevertheless, great was the suffering caused by [alleged] offenses in *piao* and *chien*, and it was intolerable.

## 2. Memorials [on questions of empire]

During the Ming there were many cases of persecution resulting from the use of words in memorials which broke tahoos. I shall present only the most important.

(1) The execution of YEH Po-chu 葉伯巨 for a memorial on three points.

YEH Po-chu, *tzū Chu shêng* 居升, a native of Ning-hai [Chekiang], was a specialist in the classics, who from a student in the Kuo-tzū-chien was given the post of sub-director of studies in P'ing-yao [Shansi] In the 9th year of Hung-wu [1376], on the occurrence of a variation among the heavenly bodies<sup>37</sup> the emperor ordered his officers to memorialize him as to how he might correct [his way of government]. Po chu sent up a memorial outlining three ways in which the method of government in the palace went beyond bounds. "Too many principalities have been created, too many punishments inflicted, and too many adminis-

ingly T'ai tsu had the tribute of gold, saddles, and other things returned to Yi Dan, and demanded the submission of the original writer of the *chien*, surnamed CHYENG Dan was afraid, so he sent the man named CHYENG to Nanking"

"According to the *Ming shih* 26 7a there was an unusual occurrence in the skies in Hung wu 9 2 t-ch'ou But there is no such cyclical date in the 2nd moon The *Ming shih* lao 21 20b concurs in this date Wu Ch'eng-chuan 吳乘權, in his compilation *Ming chien : chih lu* 明鑑易知錄 (preface 1711) 2 Sa, records that five planets (Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and Saturn) were out of alignment in Hung wu 9 jun 9, the day of the moon unfortunately not being given According to the *Ming shih* 2 15b, the command of the emperor which follows is dated jun 9 k'eng-yin, or October 22, 1376

trative reforms adopted" A very long memorial (see his own biography for the original petition) On receipt of the memorial, the emperor was incensed and shouted, "This scoundrel wants to separate me from my own flesh and blood Quickly bring him here to me and let me slay him with my own hand" When he arrived, seizing a moment when the emperor was in happy mood, the prime minister proposed that he be remanded to the prison of the board of punishments It was there that he died Previously, before Po chu submitted his memorial, he remarked to one of his friends, "China today is suffering from three major evils Two of them may be readily seen but their bad effects will take time, the other does not appear on the surface, but its effects will be immediate Had there been no clear command I still would feel impelled to speak, how much more now that our advice has been sought" He was probably referring [in the last instance] to the enfeoffment of members of the imperial family At this time, however, the princes had been given titles but had not been allotted territory, so what Po chu said was not exactly correct In the last years of Hung wu the Prince of Yen was on several occasions ordered to make invasions beyond the border, hence the commencement of his power Later, when [the second emperor] began paring away his military strength, he usurped command of the empire Then people realized that Po chu was a prophet (*Ming shih, lieh chuan* 27 [or 139 9a 16a])

(2) Li Shih mien 李時勉 [d 1450 aged 77 sui] imprisonment for a memorial accusing the sovereign of improperly having relations with a concubine during a period of mourning

In the 5th moon of the first year of Hung hsi [1425], the sub-reader of the Hanlin Academy [25a] Li Shih mien submitted a petition which greatly angered Jen tsung Summoned to audience in one of the ordinary halls he retracted nothing The emperor bade the military officials strike him with their batons 金瓜, breaking three of his ribs He was dragged out and almost died The next day he was transferred to the office of censor of Cochinchina and ordered daily to send up a sentence on a prisoner After the submission of three sentences he was jailed in the prison 錦衣衛 Now it happened that Shih mien had been very kind



to a certain official 千戶 of his yamen, who by chance happened to have business in the jail. He therefore secretly brought in a physician who administered medicine 血竭<sup>28</sup> from abroad, as a result of which he did not die. Jen tsung fell seriously ill, and said to Hsia Yuan-chi 夏原吉 [1366-1430], "Shih mien abused me personally in the palace," following which he fell into a passion. Yuan-chi attempted to pacify him. That very evening the emperor died. After Hsuan tsung [reigned 1426-35] had been a year on the throne, a certain man related all the circumstances of Shih mien's crime against the former sovereign. This angered Hsuan tsung enormously, and he ordered the officers to bind Shih mien and bring him forward, "I shall interrogate him myself and then I must slay him." Hardly had he said this than he commanded the imperial guard 指揮 WANG 王 to have [Shih-mien] hound and executed in the northern market place, without investigation in the imperial presence. The guard WANG left by an exit to the west of Tuan 端 gate. Meanwhile the previous officer had hound Shih mien and returned with him by the entrance to the east of the same gate, consequently they did not meet. Seeing him from afar the emperor cursed him shouting, "You miserable official, you dared lock horns with the last sovereign, what were the words of your petition? Make haste and tell me." Shih mien prostrating himself replied, "Your servant said that the emperor ought not, in a time of mourning for his parent 諒闇, to approach a concubine, and the bear apparent ought not to stay apart from his sovereign." The storm in the imperial countenance cleared, while the accused related altogether six items. His majesty then ordered him to give the points in full detail, at which Shih mien replied, "I am afraid I cannot remember them so minutely." The emperor understood and said, "It is because it is difficult to relate out loud. But where is your memorial?" "I have burned it," said Shih mien. Whereupon the sovereign heaved a great sigh, called him a loyal subject, forgave him his crime, and gave him back his former office. On his return from the prison the imperial guard Wang saw Shih mien

<sup>28</sup> A red gum from a species of palm found in Sumatra used as an astringent etc.

standing clad in court dress and wearing an official hat in front of the emperor. (*Ming shih, lieh chuan* 51 [or 163.1a-4a])

(3) HAI Jui's 海瑞 [1514-87] censured [of the emperor] for cultivation of [certain] practices and his consequent imprisonment.

After Shih-tsung [reigned 1522-66] had been on the throne a long while, he neglected affairs of state, staying in the Hsi-yuan 西苑 [the region of the Pei, Chung, and Nan Hai, Peking], giving himself up solely to Taoist religious practices. The chief officials vied with each other in informing him of auspicious influences, and members of the ministry of ceremonial improperly sent up *piao* of flattery. After the court ministers YANG Tsui 楊最<sup>49</sup> and YANG Chueh 楊爵<sup>49</sup> had fallen into trouble, none dared to utter a word on official business. None but HAI Jui, then a second class assistant secretary of the board of revenue, who memorialized the emperor [in Chia-ching 45.2, or 1566] censoring him for religious practices and sacrifices, for excessive construction of pleasantries, for interest in peaches and pills of immortality 仙桃 天藥—things which are utterly fabulous. When the two princes<sup>49</sup> would not see the emperor, people said that the latter only slightly exhibited the proper attitude of a father towards his children; when the sovereign became suspicious that ill was being spoken of him and executed and punished his ministers, people said that he but thinly showed the proper relationships of a sovereign towards his ministers; and so on. (For the original memorial, see his biography.) On receipt of this petition, the emperor was infuriated, flung it to the ground, looked around among his courtiers, and said, "Seize him before he escapes." A eunuch HUANG Chin 黃錦 remarked in the throne hall, "This man is reputed to be a fool. I hear that when he petitioned your majesty he knew that he was courting death, had a coffin purchased, made matters clear to his wife and sons, and awaited sentence from the throne. His servants have already decamped,

<sup>49</sup> *Chin-shih* 1517 At this time director of the court of the imperial stud *Ming shih* 209 1a

<sup>49</sup> 1493-1549 Censor *Ming shih* 209 8b

<sup>49</sup> These were Tsai hou, later to reign as Mu tsung, and Tsai-ch'ou 載圳; see *Ming shih* 120 3a

so as not to be taken into custody. He cannot escape." His majesty considered silently, then picked up and re-read the memorial, studying it three times during the day. He was moved by it and sighed deeply. For several months he kept the memorial by him. Once he said, "This [25b] man may be compared to Pi-kan 比干, but I am not Chou 紂." "Presently he fell ill, and was troubled in spirit. The court minister Hsu Chieh 徐階" was summoned to discuss the transfer of the throne to the heir apparent. For this reason the emperor said, "Hsi Jui's words are true. Now I have been ill a long time. How can I conduct state business?" Again he said, "I am unable to take care of myself; hence my sickness. If I were able to go out to the ordinary audience hall would I have to endure the censure of this man?" So he had Jui seized and cast into jail 詔獄, and examined as to who originated his memorial. Following which [Jui] was put into the custody of the board of punishments and was sentenced to death. When the sentence was announced to the emperor he again held it up. A steward of the board of revenue, Ho I-shang 何以尚, "seeing that the emperor had no intention of executing Jui, petitioned for his release. His majesty was incensed and commanded the imperial bodyguard to punish him with a hundred strokes, threw him into [the same] jail, and put him to the torture, questioning him day and night. After two months the emperor died [Chia-ching 45.12. *k'êng-tzû*: Jan. 23, 1567]. Mu-tsung ascended the throne, and released both men from prison. (*Ming shih*, *hch chuan* 114 [or 226. 1a-7a])

As to the woes caused by memorials of remonstrance, the three who suffered the most were YEH Po-chu, Li Shih-mien, and Hsi Jui. Besides these there are the cases of *Ta-li-i* 大禮議 in the Chia-ching period" and the *San-an-chih-ch'êng* 三案之爭 of the

"Giles, *Diog Dict* 1615 and 1414

"President of the board of ceremonial 1519-52, then entered the cabinet, resigned from office 1574. *Ming shih* 213 1a

"A native of Hsing yeh, Kuangsi. *Ming shih* 226 7a

"In the first four years of his reign, 1522-25, Shih tsung who was nephew of the ninth and second cousin of the tenth emperors, tried to make his father 興獻王 and 興獻帝 and his mother 興獻后. Many of the officials openly opposed the granting of these honors, and were severely punished as a result. See *Ming shih*

end of the Wan-li period.<sup>46</sup> In these palace upheavals one cannot determine who is right and who wrong. And none knows how many were the ones who endured censure, degradation, chastisement, and imprisonment for submitting memorials. If we should discuss them in detail, it would make a succession of monographs.

### 3. Examinations.

The Ming Dynasty followed older traditions, selecting officials through the examination system. As a consequence the distress caused by literary persecution in the examinations was very great. I plan to select only the failure to avoid certain subjects in the assignment of themes and the use of contraband words in the examination essays; these had tragic results and are most important. With affairs outside this province I shall not deal.

(1) The misfortunes consequent upon the breaking of conventions by Liu San-wu [*v. supra* p. 259] and others in the selection of essays handed in at the examinations.

In Hung-wu 30 [1397] at the examinations [for the *chin-shih*], the emperor ordered the chancellor of the Hanlin Academy Liu San-wu and the princely tutor 吉府起善 Po Hsin-tao 自信蹈 to act as directors. Of the candidates selected, including SUNG Tsung 宋琮,<sup>47</sup> there were fifty-one all told. In the examinations at the court, the first place was awarded to Cn'ÊN An 陳安 of Min-hsien [Fukien], the next to YIN Ch'ang-lung 尹昌隆 of Chi-an [Kiangsi], and the third to LIU Ê 劉諤<sup>48</sup> of K'uai-chi [Chekiang]. Not a single person from north of the [Yangtze] river was successful. The scholars who failed sent up a memorial accusing Liu San-wu and the other Southerners of being secretly partial. The emperor was annoyed and ordered learned officials again to check the

17 2a-5b, or the sketches of MAO Ch'eng and YANG Ting ho in *Giles Biog Dict* #1495, #2411

<sup>46</sup> These three cases, which began in 1615 and ran through the next two reigns of Tai ch'ang and T'ien-ch'ü, are well described by George A. KENNEDY in his biography of CHU Ch'ang lo (*Some Eminent Chinese of the Seventeenth Century*, 1936, 6).

<sup>47</sup> Native of Tai ho, Kiangsu T'ü ming pei lu

<sup>48</sup> According to the T'ü ming pei lu, the Kung chu K'ao lueh 貢舉考畧 1 4b, and the Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer list of chin-shih for 1397, the name should be written Liu Shih e 仕.

papers of the unsuccessful candidates and award degrees to writers of good essays. Whereat there were appointed the reader CHANG Hsin 張信,<sup>50</sup> the expositor TAI I 戴伊,<sup>51</sup> the assistant secretary of the supervisorate of instruction WANG Chun-hua [v. *supra* p. 260], the inspector of the supervisorate 司直郎 CHANG Ch'ien 張謙, the proofreader in the supervisorate 司經局校書 YEN Shu-tsai 嚴叔枚, the standardizer of calligraphy 正字<sup>52</sup> TUNG Kuan 董貫, the recorder 長史 HUANG Chang 黃章,<sup>53</sup> and the princely tutors CHOU Hêng 周衡<sup>54</sup> and HSIAO I 蕭揖, together with [the above mentioned Cn'EN] An, [YIN] Ch'ang-lung, and [Liu Shih-jé. Each of them had to go over ten papers. Gossips [26a] reported that Liu and Po prevailed upon [CHANG] Hsin and his collaborators to hand in [to the throne] only the worst essays. This angered the emperor all the more; so he personally selected a topic for the students to treat. The result was the selection of another sixty-one scholars, including HAN K'o-chung 韓克忠 [of Wu-ch'êng, Shantung], WANG Shu 王恕 [of Ch'ang-ch'ing, Shantung], and CHIAO Shêng 焦勝 [of Lo-p'ing, Shansi<sup>55</sup>], whom he graded according to distinction. First in place was HAN K'o-chung who was made compiler of the Hanlin Yuan, second was WANG Shu compiler of the second class, and third was CHIAO Shêng who became assistant director of state ceremonials 行人司副.<sup>56</sup> The

<sup>50</sup> Native of Ting hai, Chekiang first in the court examination of 1394. *T'ing ming pei lu*

<sup>51</sup> According to the *Ming shih* 141 15b, the *T'ing ming pei lu*, and the *Chekiang Provincial Gazetteer*, his name should be TAI Te-i 戴德. He was a native of Feng hua, Chekiang

<sup>52</sup> This official saw to it that all imperial documents were written in standard calligraphy

<sup>53</sup> A native of Fukien province, according to the *Ch'ien ch'ing t'ang shu mu* 千頃堂書目 10 2a.

<sup>54</sup> Tzu 世衡, a minor poet from Wu 吳 (modern Kiangsu). Cn'EN Ch'ien i, *Lieh ch'ao shih chi* 19 57a

<sup>55</sup> These identifications are all taken from the *T'ing ming pei lu*

<sup>56</sup> Titles are notoriously difficult to translate with precision. This one, like a number of others in this text, is only approximately rendered. According to the *Ming shih* 74 15a, there were two 行人司副 and 57 行人. In the Chien wen period (1399-1402) these offices were discarded and the Hung lu ssü, which MAYERS (*The Chinese Government*, #231) translates Court of State Ceremonial, took over their functions

*chin-shih* CH'ÊN Hsing-shan 陳性善<sup>54</sup> was made a member of the court of state ceremonial 行人, and CH'ÊN Ch'êng 陳誠<sup>55</sup> was made Hanlin graduate of the third degree. [CHANG] Hsin and the others were put to death by the slicing process. Because of [LIU] San-wu's age he was exiled, while [CH'ÊN] An and [LIU Shih-] ê were stationed at Wei-lu 威虜,<sup>56</sup> and TAI [Tê-] i and YIN Ch'ang-lung were released. An and [Shih-] ê were [later] brought back and made directors of the court of state ceremonial 司賓司儀, then slain. Sun Tsung accepted office as censor, and later rose from Hanlin graduate of the third degree to be preceptor of the Kuo-tzü-chien (*Yen-shan-t'ang pieh-chi k'o shih k'ao* 弇山堂別集科試考.<sup>57</sup>)

The *Po fu pu ch'ên pang wên* 薄福不臣文 by the recorder HUANG Chang and his associates reports: Huang Chang, together with the reader CHANG Hsin, the expositor TAI [Tê-] i,<sup>58</sup> the assistant secretary WANG Chun-hua, the first class compiler CH'ÊN An, the second class compilers YIN Ch'ang-lung and LIU [Shih-] ê altogether over ten people, glanced over the papers of those who failed in the examination directed by LIU San-wu. Because they did not exercise care in punctuating them, and because the paper which went up to the emperor contained such phrases as "through the union of air, all things are created" 一氣交而萬物成<sup>59</sup> and "the highest is the emperor, the lowest his ministers" 至尊者君, 至卑者臣, all were found guilty and all suffered the

<sup>54</sup> A native of Shan yin, Chekiang, and one of the successful candidates for the degree, third group 三甲, in the first examination held in the spring of 1397. *T'ing ming pei lu* and *Ming shih* 142 3b.

<sup>55</sup> A native of Chi shui Kiangsi, and a chün-shih of the third group in the examinations of 1394. *T'ing ming pei lu* and *Ming shih kao* 128 8a.

<sup>56</sup> This is evidently a place name, but I cannot locate it. According to the *Ming shih* 6 9b, the emperor Ch'eng tsu went by way of Wei-lu-chên 鎮 in the year 1410 or Yung lo 8 4 *k'eng shêng*.

<sup>57</sup> This work on the examination system is by WANG Shih chên 王世貞 (1526-90). It is part of the book in 100 chuan included in the *Ssu k'u* and noticed in the Imperial Catalogue (51 7a) and in WYLIE's *Notes on Chinese Literature* (reprint of 1922), 32. The author's preface is dated 1590.

<sup>58</sup> This name and others are correctly given in the source.

<sup>59</sup> The last character should be corrected to 存, making the phrase read in translation all things are preserved.

extreme penalty except [Tê-] i and Ch'ang-lung. (See *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu mu*.<sup>60</sup>) San-wu and his associates were found guilty because of the implications in the phraseology of the candidates' papers, and not because of a show of partiality towards Southerners as against Northerners.

Again, according to the *Nan hao t'an tsuan* 南漳談纂,<sup>61</sup> Cn'ÉN An, a native of Foochow, an authority on astronomy, became a chin-shih in Hung-wu ting-ch'ou [1397]. On the day that the titles were conferred at the palace examinations he remarked privately to his fellow students, "As I behold the pattern of the heavens, this year's optimus is going to suffer misfortune." When the names were called, first place was given to him. As there was a majority of Southerners among the successful candidates, LIU San-wu and the other examining officials were executed, and An was likewise implicated. On the 20th day of the 5th moon [June 15, 1397] another examination was held at which the emperor personally selected HAN K'o-chung as first. His successful fellow-candidates were one and all Northerners. This account is certainly mistaken in declaring that San-wu was executed, but seems to be approximately correct in regard to Cn'ÉN An.

Again, according to the *Ching-t'ai shih-lu* 景泰實錄, in the 8th moon of the 7th year [1456] the grand secretary Cn'ÉN Hsun 陳循<sup>62</sup> accused the director of the examinations LIU Yen 劉儼<sup>63</sup> and his associates in a memorial which read, "In Hung-wu 30 [1397], at the time that the board of ceremonial was conducting the examinations, the director LIU San-wu and his fellow examiners set as subject for essays one which carried hidden satire against the court and bore words which were evil. They were not fair in conducting the examinations. A censor made accu-

<sup>60</sup> This catalogue in 32 chüan by HUANG Yü-chü 黃虞稷 (1629-91) is competently described by TENG and BIGGERSTAFF, *An Annotated Bibl. of Sel. Chinese Ref. Works*, 20-21. I have made use of the *Shih yüan ts'ung shu* ed. As noted above, Mr. KU has not transcribed the quotation exactly.

<sup>61</sup> This work in two chuan is by TU MU 都穆 (1458-1525), and receives a notice in the *Ssu k'u Catalogue* (14: 3a).

<sup>62</sup> Optimus among the chin-shih of 1415, a native of T'ai ho, Kiangsi. *Ming shih* 168: 1a.

<sup>63</sup> Optimus in 1442, native of Chi shui, Kiangsi. *Ibid.* 162: 11b.

sation, the court gave those found guilty the severest punishments, and ordered another examination held, in which HAN K'o chung, FAN Ching 樊敬,<sup>64</sup> and several tens of people were selected, all of whom later received high official posts," etc This indicates that San wu and his group were considered at fault because of two reasons which were connected the essays contained words which were offensive, and the examinations were not conducted in a fair manner [26b]

(2) The imprisonment of Tsou Chi 鄒緝<sup>65</sup> and others for the assignment of trifling essays themes

In the 7th year of Yung lo [1409], the emperor appointed the expositor of the Hanlin Tsou Chi and the senior inspector of the supervisorate of instruction Hsu Shan shu 徐善述 [1353 1419] as examining directors They selected CH'EN Sui 陳璉<sup>66</sup> and others The heir apparent made K'UNG Ê 孔<sup>67</sup> first on the secondary list of successful *chu jen* and gave him the post of senior secretary in the supervisorate of instruction, bestowing upon him favors beyond his merits A censor found fault with the themes selected, namely Comments on *Mencius* and The Great Plan, with its nine divisions, of the *Book of History*<sup>68</sup> As a consequence Tsou Chi and his associates were put in prison Another examination was held for the unsuccessful candidates, of whom ten or so, including HSIUNG Kai 熊槩 [1385 1434] and CHIN Hsiang 金庠 were chosen At this juncture the emperor went to Peking<sup>69</sup> leaving the men to study in the Kuo tzü chien Not until the year *hsin mao* [1411] did the emperor [return to] conduct the [*chin shih*] examinations bestowing first places on HSIAO Shih chung 蕭時中 MIAO Chung 苗衷, and HUANG Yang 黃陽,<sup>70</sup> making them Hanlin compilers The following *chin shih* were made Hanlin hachelors

<sup>64</sup> Native of Yun-cheng Shantung *T'ung pei lu*

<sup>65</sup> Native of Chi-shu Kiangsi *Ming shih* 164 1a

<sup>66</sup> Native of Lin hai Chek ang and *chin-shih* of the second group 1411 *T'ung pei lu*

<sup>67</sup> Cf LEGGE *Ch'ü* 3 2 320

<sup>68</sup> The name Pe ping was changed to Pei-chung in Yung lo 1/2 or the spring of 1403

<sup>69</sup> Natives respectively of Lü ling Kiangsi Ting yuan Anhui and P'u tien Fukien *T'ung pei lu*



YANG Tzū 楊慈 [of P'u t'ien, Fukien] LIU Yung-ch'ing 劉永清 [of Shih shou, Hupeh], CH'EN Sui, CH'EN Hsi 錢習禮 [of Ch'ing-shui, Kiangsi], HUANG Shou sheng 黃壽生 [of P'u t'ien, Fukien], CH'EN Chou 陳周<sup>10</sup> [of P'u t'ien, Fukien], CHUNG Ying 鍾英<sup>11</sup> [of Kao yao, Kuangtung], CHANG Hsi 張習 [of K'uai-chu, Chekiang], CHANG Shih 張試<sup>12</sup> [of Tc hsing, Kiangsi], MA Hsin 馬信 [of Lang-chung, Szechuan], and SHAO Ts'ung 邵聰 [of Ju hao, Kiangsu], these people, who at first as students of the Kuo tzü-chien had been brought into the Hanlin Academy to study the explanations of the classics, now became *chin shih* and were also made Hanlin bachelors (*K'o shih k'ao*)

According to the *Ching t'ai shih lu*, in the 8th moon of the 7th year [1456] the grand secretary CH'EN Hsun accused LIU Yen and his associates in a memorial saying [in part], "In the 7th year of Yung lo [1409], in the examination of candidates for the *kung shih* 貢士," the examiners TSOU Chi and others set for themes Comments on Mencius and The Great Plan, with its nine divisions, of the *Book of History*, making light of the canon. Accusation was made against them by a censor, and the examiners found guilty. Other officials were ordered to hold an examination, and over ten men were chosen including HSUNO Kai and CHIN Hsiang. Later they rose to be presidents of the censorate, vice presidents of boards, and the like." This is precisely the same story as that recorded in the *K'o shih k'ao*. Unfortunately neither book reveals what the themes were.

(3) The accusation made against LIU Yen and his associates for selecting themes for the examinations which violated taboos.

In the 7th year of Ching t'ai [1456] the sub-director of the court of sacrificial worship and concurrently reader of the Hanlin LIU Yen and the secretary of the supervisorate of instruction and concurrently Hanlin compiler (second class) HUANG Chien 黃

<sup>10</sup> According to the *T'ing ming pei lu* from which these identifications have been taken the name should be Chen Yung 用.

<sup>11</sup> This should be Chung Ying 瑛. *Idem*

<sup>12</sup> This should be Chang Shih 式. *Idem*

<sup>13</sup> One of the final tests for the *chin shih*. MATTHEWS *op cit* #473

諫<sup>74</sup> were in charge of the *chu-jên* examinations at Shun-t'ien-fu [Peking]. The grand secretaries of the Nei Ko, Cn'ÊN Hsün and WANG Wên 王文<sup>75</sup> stated that the candidate LIU Ch'un 劉淳, an interpreter[?] 譯字官, was, contrary to earlier regulations, unsuccessful. His majesty summoned Yen and his associate to reply to this charge, and in the end pardoned them. But Cn'ÊN Hsun and WANG Wên again complained that their sons [Cn'ÊN] Ying 瑛 and [WANG] Lun 綸 had not passed the examinations, because the officials in charge had disregarded what they had written, and furthermore had given out themes which were one-sided and which broke the taboo on the imperial name of Hsuan-tsung. (K'o shih k'ao.) Hsun spoke in general as follows, "There is rottenness in the present examination halls, with people handing out prepared papers and examiners making alterations in the essays, and not a hit afraid to do so. In such a state of affairs the successful candidates are not men of genuine talent. In this year's examination for *chu-jên* in Shun-t'ien-fu the situation has redeveloped. The *Hsiao lu* 小錄<sup>76</sup> repeatedly has characters which break all bounds of common decency and respect to the emperor. For example, the theme on the *Four Books* is: 人欲自絕傷於日月 'And though a man may desire to cut himself off from them, what harm does he do to the sun and moon?'," that from the *I-ching* breaks the taboos on the imperial name of Hsuan-tsung, the theme on a question 策 is 'The true [27a] succession, is it or is it not . . .' and so on, and the discussion on the theme from the *Chou I* is just like the discussion on the theme from the Great Declaration, of Yung-lo 7 [1409]. When people have especially studied the *Shih*, *Shu*, *Ch'un ch'iu*, and *Li chi*, they are utterly

<sup>74</sup> Native of Lin-t'ao, Shensi, and tertius in the *chen-shih* examinations, 1442 *Kung chu Kao lueh* 1 15b

<sup>75</sup> Native of Shu lu, Chihli, became a *chin-shih* in 1421 and a member of the cabinet in 1453 *Ming shih* 168 3b

<sup>76</sup> I assume this to be the same as the *Hsiao lu* 鄉試錄 described by Father Étienne Zi in *Pratique des examens littéraires en Chine*, 158 a printed collection of the compositions of successful candidates on each of the appointed themes, made up each triennium and presented through the board of ceremonial to the emperor

<sup>77</sup> *Lun yü* 19 24 The complete rendering is 人雖欲自絕,其何傷於日月乎。 The translation is that of SOOTHILL, *The Analects of Confucius*, 913.

unable to write essays [on the *li*]; so how can they be selected? Now the court has ordered a supplement to the *T'ung chien kang mu* 通鑑綱目,<sup>78</sup> but it has not yet been completed, and the preparation of the *Huan yu t'ung chih* 寰宇通志<sup>79</sup> is not yet over [and ready] for publication; as a consequence it is not meet that questions should be set on this material. Besides, the answers made to these questions are full of characters opprobrious and taboo; so why are they printed for the public? It is also reported that LÜ Yen's eyesight is poor, that at nightfall he cannot see the essays, and only selects without care a sufficient number from those brought to him at first, and doesn't look at those brought in later even if there are good ones among them. My son Ying's paper was among those not glanced at. Now examiners of essays should make no distinction between which is superior or inferior, but should look at each one in order to determine on the selection. Yet now they carelessly suit their own fancy and simply select a proper quota. Hence the number of those unjustly plowed. Wherefore, I petition the throne that a large group of upright and scholarly officials be appointed to get from the examination halls the essays of both successful and unsuccessful candidates at the three sittings, and make a selection after comparing each one with the others to see which ones are good. Only by such action will honesty be enthroned and the servants of the state be of genuine talent." (*Ching-t'ai shih-lu*. The memorial of WANG Wên is about the same in content.)

On receipt of their memorials, the emperor ordered the board of ceremonial and the grand secretary KAO KU 高穀 [1391-1460] and others to re-examine the essays of the successful candidates HSU T'ai 徐泰<sup>80</sup> and the rest. Among them were some superior, some of like quality, and some inferior to those of Lun and Ying. Further, the red ink copy of the paper of the sixth highest, LIN T'ing 林挺, bore no comment. After the officials had sent in their

<sup>78</sup> One supplement of 27 chüan was completed in the Ch'êng hua period (1465-87); see *Ming shih* 97 3a.

<sup>79</sup> This work in 119 chuan was completed very shortly after during the Ching-t'ai period (1450-56) *Ming shih* 97 20a.

<sup>80</sup> Native of Chiang yin, Kiangsu *Kung chü k'ao lueh* 1 15b.

memorials, a decree was issued declaring that LIU Yen and his associates had taken no care in the [direction of the] examinations, and should not be permitted to escape punishment, but that there had been no secret corruption, they were therefore pardoned LIN Ting and the officer who should have commented on his paper 該房考官 were both turned over to the imperial bodyguard to be sharply interrogated. On ascertaining the truth the latter were to inform his majesty. In the following year WANG Lun and CH'EN Ying were permitted to sit for the metropolitan examinations [for the *chin shih*]<sup>81</sup>. The supervising censors charged [CH'EN] Hsun and [WANG] Wen with being interested only in themselves and not mindful of the dignity of the state, and held them worthy of death or other punishment. The emperor replied, "What you censors have declared is in accordance with the letter of the law, but CH'EN Hsun and WANG Wen for many years have been at my side and grown old in the service of the state. For a single offense I cannot punish them." So he forgave them. The junior guardian KAO Ku plead for respite from his duties. The emperor told him of his high respect for his spirit, and said, "I am aware of the enmity that is held against you, but in the control of the highest offices there needs must be men of sterling character. I cannot spare you. From now on you must add a measure to your loyalty and make your fame as a statesman complete." KAO Ku's reason for begging leave was because he had upbraided Hsun and Wen for their selfish interests, and had petitioned for the retention of [LIU] Yen and his associates. As a consequence he was not at ease (*K'o shih k'ao*).

(4) The imprisonment of CH'ENG Min ch'eng 程敏政<sup>82</sup> on a charge of selling themes.

In the 12th year of Hung chih [1499], the emperor appointed as chief examiners the junior guardian of the heir apparent, president of the ministry of ceremonial, and grand secretary of the Wen yuan ko 文淵閣 LI Tung yang 李東陽 [1447-1516] and the

<sup>81</sup> They were not successful however their names not being included in the list of *chin-shih* for the year 1457 in the *T'ung ming pei lu*.

<sup>82</sup> Native of Hsiu ning, Anhui he became *secundus* in the group of *chin-shih* selected in the year 1466. *Ming shih* 239. 7b.

chief supervisor of instruction, junior vice president of the same ministry, and concurrently chancellor of the Hanlin Academy CH'ENG [27b] Min-ch'eng They selected a number, including LUN Wên-hsu 倫文敘.<sup>83</sup> At the palace examinations LUN Wên-hsu, LIU Lung 劉龍,<sup>84</sup> and FENG Hsi 豐熙 [1468-1537] were given the first [three] places. On this occasion the supervising censors HUA Shêng 華昇<sup>85</sup> and LIN T'ing-yu 林廷玉<sup>86</sup> accused CH'ENG Min-ch'eng of selling the themes. Previously Min-ch'eng had set such difficult questions that candidates seldom knew the answers. On this account one of his favorite students Hsu Ching 徐經,<sup>87</sup> who was daily in his company, searched stealthily for and found them, and informed T'ANG Yin 唐寅,<sup>88</sup> a fellow *chu-jên* who had graduated the same year as himself, the result being that they were enabled to answer the questions without error. [T'ANG] Yin was a careless fellow, and on seeing someone would brag that he would get first place. This information was relayed to [HUA] Shêng and [LIN] T'ing-yu, so that both [HSU Ching and T'ANG Yin] together with Min-ch'eng were questioned and remanded to jail. Ching plead guilty under pressure, saying that he had bought [the questions] from the people in the household of Min-ch'eng. Yin had already [been found guilty of] exchanging an essay of Min-ch'eng for one piece of gold and presenting it to LIANG Ch'ü 梁儲 [1451-1527]. On the completion of the investigation, Min-ch'eng was dropped from office and Ching and Yin were made clerks. It is also said that of a truth the people in Min-ch'eng's household were culpable. (*K'o shih k'ao*)

<sup>83</sup> A native of Nan hai, Kuangtung he died in the years 1506-21. *Ming shih kao* 168 19a.

<sup>84</sup> Native of Hsiang yuan, Shansi. He placed third, Lun first, and Feng second. *T' ming pei lu*.

<sup>85</sup> In *Ming shih* 286 8a this name is written 景. Can this stand for Hua Ch'ang 昶, who was known as 雙梧居士?

<sup>86</sup> Native of Ping hang modern Kansu, chin shih 1484. *T' ming pei lu*.

<sup>87</sup> As will be seen below, he came from a rich family in Nanking. His name does not appear, as one might expect, in the list of *chu jen* for 1498 in the *Chuang-nan t'ung shih* 127 10a 13a. A Hsu Chin 縉 of Wu hsien, Kiangsu however, is listed, and there may be some confusion in the names.

<sup>88</sup> Native of Soochow, first among the candidates of the examinations held at Nanking in 1498. *Ming shih* 286 16b.

The biography of CH'ENG Min chêng in the *Ming shih* [286 8ab] reads "In the 12th year of Hung chih [1499], Min chêng and LI Tung yang were put in charge of the metropolitan examinations. The *chu-jên* Hsu Ching and T'ANG Yin had previously written essays which were on the same subject as the theme set. The supervising censor HUA Ch'ang [see p. 283, line 7] (the *Ko shih k'ao* makes it Shêng) charged Min chêng with selling the theme. Now at this time the list of successful candidates had not yet been posted. So the emperor commanded Min chêng not to re-examine the essays, but to let Tung yang and his fellow examiners once again go over the papers he had already passed on. But the papers of these two were not among those selected. Tung yang so informed his majesty, yet still [the censors] pressed their charges. Min chêng, Ch'ang, Ching, and Yin were all imprisoned. Ching was adjudged at fault for having visited Min chêng with gifts, and Yin of helping Min chêng for an essay, so these two were degraded to be clerks and Min chêng was forced to resign. Ch'ang was found guilty of speaking falsely, and was removed to the post of archivist in the Nanking court of the imperial stud. On leaving prison Min chêng was embittered, developed an ulcer, and died." According to the biography of T'ANG Yin [*ibid.* 16b] "Yin came out first in the *chu-jên* examinations in the 11th year of Hung chih [1498], his *chu-jên* examiner LIANG Ch'ü considered his essay so exceptional that he returned to court to show it to the Hanlin chancellor CH'ENG Min chêng, Min chêng likewise found it so. Not many days later, he was put in general charge of the metropolitan examinations. Hsu Ching, a man of wealth from Chiang yin [i.e. Nanking], purchased the theme set for them from [the latter's] servants. The news leaked out, Min chêng was accused and Yin implicated, both being imprisoned. Yin, demoted to a clerkship, was ashamed, and refused to serve, returning home where all the more he lived a carefree life." Considering the lofty character of Min chêng, we cannot believe that there was any selling of themes. Nor, with the profligate nature of T'ANG Yin, is there any more likelihood of a matter of purchase of themes. But, as for the obtaining of same through bribery of servants by Hsu Ching, this has some grounds of plausibility.

Someone has written: Min chêng's imprisonment was due to "Fu Han's 傅瀚<sup>89</sup> hankering after his post. It was he who ordered Ch'ang to petition the emperor." Although "the matter is shrouded in mystery and may not be cleared up," nevertheless we do know that the charge against Min chêng was trumped-up.<sup>90</sup>

(5) The arrest and guilt of CHIANG Ju-pi 江汝璧<sup>91</sup> and friends for making light of [the throne] in questions set for the examinations

In the 16th year of Chua-ching [1537] the emperor ordered CHIANG Ju pi, the junior secretary of the supervisorate of instruction, and OU-YANG Ch'ü 歐陽衡,<sup>92</sup> the librarian, to direct the *chu-jên* examinations at Ying t'ien [i.e. Nanking]. At the beginning, when the results from Nanking were sent up to the court [28a], the names of the examiners were omitted, whereupon the emperor delivered them to a ministry to be looked over, which declared that they were disrespectful to the monarch. So everyone from examiner to proctor was haled for questioning. On receipt of the board's petition,—as the examiners had not already filled in their names, and besides, the answers in reply to themes set by them on questions involving the great functions of state sacrifices and military control were very derogatory—the emperor ordered the imperial bodyguard to sentence the junior secretary CHIANG Ju pi and the librarian OU-YANG Ch'ü. The proctors, SUN Mao 孫懋,<sup>93</sup> governor of the metropolitan prefecture [of Nanking], YANG Ch'ü 楊麒,<sup>94</sup> vice governor, Ho Hung 何鉉 and SNÊN Ying-yang 沈應陽, censors especially designated to this examination, were remanded to the courts at Nanking for investigation. The examiner Hsu Wên k'uei 許文魁, director of studies, and the others were [ordered] to be taken for questioning to the office of

<sup>89</sup> Native of Hsun yü Kiangsi; *chin-shih* of 1464. In the 5th moon of 1500 he became president of the board of ceremonial and died in that office in the 2nd moon of 1502. *Ming shih* 184 9b.

<sup>90</sup> The parts in quotation marks only are in the biography of CHENG Min-cheng in the *Ming shih*.

<sup>91</sup> From Kwei-chi Kiangsi; *chin-shih* in 1521. *T'ung ming pei lu*.

<sup>92</sup> From T'ai ho Kiangsi; tertius in the *chin-shih* examinations of 1526. *Idem*.

<sup>93</sup> From Tz'ü-chi Chekiang; *chin-shih* in 1511. *Ming shih* 203 21b.

<sup>94</sup> Of Shang jao Kiangsi; *chin-shih* of 1521. *T'ung ming pei lu*.

the censor. The scholars selected by them were not permitted to compete in the metropolitan examination. Finally Ju-pi was given the post of assistant inspector 副提舉 in the Kuangtung superintendency of customs, and Ch'u was made assistant subprefect of Nan-hsiung [Kuangtung]. (*K'o shih k'ao.*)

(6) The arrest and judgment against WANG Pên-ts'ai 王本才 and others for the gross blunders in the expressions in examination papers and for the manner of calling people by name.

In the period of Chia-ching<sup>98</sup> the president of the board of ceremonial YEN Sung 嚴嵩<sup>99</sup> memorialized, "Certain examination papers from Kuangtung have such characters as *shêng mo* 聖謨 sacred plans, *ti i* 帝懿 imperial virtue, *ssü chiao* 四郊 the four suburbs of the city, and *shang ti* 上帝 God, which were not raised to the top of the line; and [certain writers] have called CH'EN Po-sha 陳白沙 and LUN Ch'ien-kang 倫遷岡 by their *hao*, by so doing disregarding the rule which requires the use of a subject's *ming* before his sovereign. The style of the essays, moreover, is quite poor, and the purport of words perverse in the extreme. Consequently I recommend the punishment of the culprits." This brought forth the decree, "I command that the educational director WANG Pên-ts'ai and others, the lieutenant governor LU Chieh 陸杰<sup>97</sup> and others, and the provincial judge CHIANG Kan 蔣浚<sup>98</sup> and others be arrested and questioned by the imperial investigators 巡按官.<sup>99</sup> Pên-ts'ai and the rest are to have their emoluments taken away, and censor Yü Kuang 余光<sup>100</sup> is to be taken to the courts for interrogation. Yet again, the present commissioners of education all over the empire are severely to prohibit the scholars from daring to act in disorderly and monstrous ways.

<sup>98</sup> This examination was held in the 16th year, or 1537

<sup>97</sup> He became president of the board in the 12th moon of the previous year and relinquished the office in the 8th moon, 1542. Died 1568. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.* #2475, for a sketch of his life

<sup>98</sup> Native of Ping hu, Chekiang; *chin-shih* in 1514, took office as lieutenant governor in 1535, cashiered 1538. See *Kuangtung t'ung chih*

<sup>99</sup> Native of Ch'uan-chou, Kuangsi; *chin-shih* in 1511; became judge in 1536. *Idem*

<sup>100</sup> These *hsun-an* were *yü-shih*, or censors, of the 13 *tao* (provinces) who might be sent to any province on trips of inquiry. *Ming shih* 73 1b

<sup>101</sup> From Nanking. *Ming shih* 203 10b



If they do not show reverence in accordance with ancient custom they will all be dismissed." (*K'o shih k'ao*.)

(7) The imprisonment of LI Mo 李默<sup>101</sup> for an examination theme which involved defamation [by indirection]

During the period of Chia-ching, the president of the board of civil office LI Mo, a man of depth of learning and refinement, with talent for debate and confident in his moral courage, rose from vice president of the board of civil office to the presidency, from which he was dismissed after but a few days for his intractability. Later the throne ordered his return to his former post.<sup>102</sup> But at this period officialdom was corrupt, openly making bribes, with both civil and military officials focused like the spokes of a wheel on YEN Sung's establishment, and all of them sycophants. Mo alone resolutely remained upright, and in every respect disagreed with the YEN clan, thus incurring its jealous hatred. Now in these days CHAO Wên-hua 趙文華<sup>103</sup> of the YEN faction was especially in the favor of his majesty, and was thoroughly familiar with Shih-tsung's delight in hearing personal accusations. He accordingly seized the opportunity to inform the emperor that Mo had prepared an examination theme in his ministry containing among other words these, "Wên-ti of the Han [B.C. 163-150] and Hsien-tsung of the T'ang [A.D. 806-820] were both noble and wise emperors who built up reigns which prospered. Late in their rule, however, they made use of bad men who corrupted the state." [Wên-hua] pointed out the slanderous quality therein in his memorial. Shih-tsung was wroth on seeing it, and had Mo examined by flogging in the censorial bureau 鎮撫司.<sup>104</sup> As a result of prison conditions he fell ill and died there.<sup>105</sup> (*Huang Ming yü wo lu* 皇明馭倭錄.<sup>106</sup>) [28b]

<sup>101</sup> Native of Ou ning, Fukien, *chin-shih*, 1521 *Ming shih* 242 14a

<sup>102</sup> He was president from the 2nd to the 10th moon of 1551, and appointed next in the 8th moon, 1553

<sup>103</sup> Of Ts'ü-ch'ü, Chekiang; *chin-shih* in 1529, became president of the board of works in the 3rd moon, 1556 *Ming shih* 308 17b

<sup>104</sup> Cf *Ming shih* 73 10b

<sup>105</sup> In the 2nd moon of 1556

<sup>106</sup> This is a work in 8 chuan by WANG Shih-ch'ü 王士驎, son of the famous WANG Shih-chên mentioned above. He was chosen first among the candidates for *chü-jên* in the examinations held at Nanking in 1582. Became *chin-shih* in 1589. See *Ming shih* 97 11b and 287 20b

(8) The arrest and sentence of YEH Ching 葉經<sup>107</sup> and others for slanderous language in the examinations.

During the period of Chia-ching, the *Hsiang shih hsiao lu*<sup>108</sup> sent up to the capital from Shantung contained essays on the defense of the border against encroachment. When this reached the eye of the emperor he said, "These essays contain sarcastic and slanderous remarks. Let the ministry of ceremonial examine them and report." Whereupon the president of the board CHANG Pi 張璧<sup>109</sup> and others made answer, "This year bandits have made no invasions southwards, due to the complete foresightedness of his majesty and the dread of his imperial prowess. But the merit for this has not been credited to the sovereign; instead they say that the miserable bandits are sated, which is truly abominable. The examiners: the prefectural directors of studies CHOU K'uang 周鏞 and LI Hung 李宏, the district directors of studies LIU Han 劉漢,<sup>110</sup> T'AO Yueh 陶悅, HU Hsi-yen 胡希顏, CH'ENG Nan 程南, WU Shao-tsêng 吳紹曾, YEH Chên-hêng 葉震亨 and HU Ch'iao 胡喬 have followed their discretion in their writing, rebelled against the classics, and been slanderous towards his majesty, and should be severely dealt with. The censor YEH Ching, superintendent of the examinations, did not in any way correct the errors; he therefore cannot escape his responsibility. The proctors, CH'EN Ju 陳儒<sup>111</sup> lieutenant governor and CHANG Nieh 張臬 councillor in the court of appeals, the inspecting examiners T'AN K'ai 談愷<sup>112</sup> and P'AN Ên 潘恩<sup>113</sup> assistant commissioners, all shared responsibility, are implicated, and should be punished." The emperor declared, "The themes for the *chu-jên* examinations set by every province together with the published essays must all

<sup>107</sup> Died 1543 *Ming shih* 210 7b

<sup>108</sup> See note 76

<sup>109</sup> Native of Shih shou, Hupeh, *chin shih* 1511, became president of the board in the 2nd moon of 1543, died in the 8th moon of 1545 *Ming shih* 110 5b, 112 8a

<sup>110</sup> From Ta-t'ung, Shansi Died during the years 1567-72 *Ming shih kao* 175 11a

<sup>111</sup> *Chin-shih* in 1523 *T'ung ming pei lu*

<sup>112</sup> Native of Wu-hsi, Kiangsu, *chin-shih* 1526 *Idem*

<sup>113</sup> Native of Shanghai, *chin shih* 1523 As a result of this case he was sent to Ho-yuan, Kuangtung Later on he rose to be president of the board of punishments (1560) and president of the censorate (1561) *Ming shih* 202 18a

be regulated by the imperial investigators. The examining educational officials may not but comply. Not only do the replies in the papers to the questions contain derogatory comments, but also in the first essay on the moral principles of the *Lun yu* [are the words]: 'The sovereign has not followed the path set by his inheritance.' YEN Ching, as superintendent of the examinations, had complete control over the business, and together with him were [CHOU] K'uang and others, CH'ÊN Ju and others. I order the imperial bodyguard to delegate an officer to tie them up and bring them to the capital for punishment." In a few days Ching, Ju, Nieh, K'ai, and Ên arrived. The emperor ordered the court to give Ching eighty strokes, because of his rebellious, unruly character, and made him a commoner; Ju and his associates he demoted to be minor officials on the marches. Ching died from his beating,<sup>114</sup> while Ju and the rest filled in vacancies as judicial wardens in the district of I-chun [Shensi] and elsewhere. A little later, when the examination papers from Kueichou arrived, they also were found to have statements which infringed the imperial statutes. The censors were stripped of their official status, and the senior councillor in the court of appeals and others were each degraded three ranks. (*K'o shih k'ao*.)

(9) The deprivation of the rank and titles of KAO Ch'i-yu 高啓愚<sup>115</sup> because of the reprehensible nature of the examination theme.

In the 7th year of Wan-li [1579] the emperor commanded KAO Ch'i-yu the junior secretary of the supervisorate of instruction and Hanlin compiler, and LO Wan-hua 羅萬化<sup>116</sup> sub-reader of the Hanlin to act as directors of the examinations at Ying-t'ien-fu [Nanking]. In the 12th year [1584] the censor TING Tz'ü-lu 丁此呂<sup>117</sup> dug up the past in his charge that while KAO Ch'i-yu, now senior vice president of the board of ceremonial and con-

<sup>114</sup> In the ninth moon of Chia-ching 22

<sup>115</sup> Native of Tung hang, Szechuan, *chin-shih* in 1505 *T'ü ming pei lu*

<sup>116</sup> Native of K'uai-chi, Chekiang, *optimus* among the *chin-shih* of 1508. Apparently he did not suffer from this case for he became president of the board of civil office in 1592, shifting thence in the 12th moon to the presidency of the board of ceremonial. He died in office in the 9th moon, 1594. *Idem* and *Ming shih kao* 105 13b

<sup>117</sup> Of Hsin-chien, Kiangsi, *chin-shih* 1577 *Ming shih* 220 19a

currently reader of the Hanlin, was conducting the *chu-jên* examinations at Ying-t'ien he issued the theme: "Shun's taking the commands [of Yao] and passing them on to Yu," for the purpose of toadying to the late grand preceptor CHANG Chu-chêng 張居正 [1525-82]. His idea [ran the indictment] was to encourage [Chang's] advance towards succession to the throne, which meant that he was completely void of awe due to the throne. The emperor's decree in reply was to call off further inquiry. The board of civil office, however, decided after consideration of the case that Tz'ü-lu should be shifted to the provinces, and that Ch'i-yu be removed from office, his ranks cancelled, himself sent home, and the title of honor for three generations be withdrawn. (*K'o shih k'ao*)

(10) The dismissal of KAO Kuei 高桂<sup>118</sup> and others for reporting on the accumulation of abuses in the examination halls.

In the 16th year of Wan-li [1588] some of the vermilion copies of the papers in the *chu-jên* examinations at Shun-t'ien were lost. The rough copy of CHENG Kuo-wang's 鄭國望 paper was not complete, yet he was a successful candidate. The words and sentences [in the papers] of Li Hung 李鴻 and others contained errors and hlemishes; Hêng 衡<sup>119</sup> the son of a high officer of state WANG Hsi-chueh 王錫爵 [1534-1610], came out first, and there were numerous other improprieties. The senior secretary of the ministry of ceremonial KAO Kuei submitted a memorial discussing the accumulating abuses in the examination halls. JAO Shên 饒伸<sup>120</sup> second class assistant secretary of the hoard of punishments, Yunnan section, maintained in a petition, [29a] "A recreant servant of the state has been deceiving the sovereign; by ministering to selfish ends he has destroyed the law." On receipt of this the emperor decreed, "Let JAO Shên be removed from office and made a commoner, and Kao Kuei degraded and transferred elsewhere." (*K'o shih k'ao*.)

<sup>118</sup> Native of Wei hsien, Shantung; *chin-shih* of 1577 *T'ü ming pei lu*

<sup>119</sup> Native of Tai ts'ang Kiangsu, *secundus* among the *chin-shih* of 1601 *Ming shih* 218 8b His father was then in 1588, a member of the Nei Ko

<sup>120</sup> Native of Chin hsien, Kiangsi, *chin-shih* 1583 He returned to office in the period of T'ien-ch'ü (1621), becoming senior vice president of the board of punishments in 1624 *Ming shih* 230 5a

(11) The redemption of CH'EN Ch'ien-i [v. *supra* p. 265] from flogging for collusion in the Chekiang examinations.

In the 2nd year of T'ien-ch'i [1622],<sup>121</sup> CH'EN Ch'ien-i was put in charge of the examinations in Chekiang. Among the successful candidates was CH'EN Ch'ien-ch'iu 錢千秋.<sup>122</sup> In the paper of the first test he made use of a single line of folk poetry (running as follows: 一朝平步上青天 "One day by ordinary steps I walked up to the blue of heaven") dividing the words and arranging so that one of them came at the end [of each of his answers to questions]. This he did following the mocking suggestion of a scamp. When this came to the notice of the supervising censor Ku Ch'i-jen 顧其仁<sup>123</sup> Ch'ien-i took it upon himself also to report the matter. The commission of revision 法司 had Ch'ien-ch'iu and the scamp exiled, and the emoluments of Ch'ien-i removed. This was long ago settled. During the winter of the first year of Ch'ung-chên [1628], the emperor was on the point of selecting a prime minister. Wên T'i-jên 溫體仁 [d. 1638] was not selected because in the general opinion his stature was insufficient. The vice president [of the board of ceremonial] Chou Yen-ju 周延儒<sup>124</sup> was in the good graces of his majesty, but he did not measure up. T'i-jên gathered that the mind of the emperor must be in doubt; so he submitted a memorial denouncing Ch'ien-i for collusion in the examinations, for being a corrupt fellow and forming a clique, and therefore of being unworthy to be chosen as chief minister. The emperor was moved by this recital, and on the following day commanded all the officials of the grand secretariat, of the boards, and of the imperial supervisorate to assemble at the Wên Hua Tien 文華殿, ordering the presence too of T'i-jên and Ch'ien-i. The latter had no premonition that T'i-jên had already made charges against him, and in answer to them was over-submissive. Whereupon T'i-jên's rage boiled over; he casti-

<sup>121</sup> This should be the first year, 1621, see *Chê-chuang t'ung chih* 140 26b and *Kung chû K'ao lüeh* 2 37ab

<sup>122</sup> Native of Hai yen, *Chê-chuang t'ung chih* 140 27b

<sup>123</sup> Of Hua yang, Szechuan, *chin-shih* 1613 *T'ü ming pei lu*

<sup>124</sup> Native of I hsing, Kiangsu, optimum 1613, made president of the board and member of the cabinet in Ch'ung-chên 2/12. He was premier from the 4th to the 15th years, dying in 1643 *Ming shih* 503 22b

gated Ch'ien-i with words that poured forth as out of a gushing spring . . . On hearing this [outhurst] the emperor ordered the board of ceremonial to bring forward the paper of [Cn'ien] Ch'ien-ch'iu. When he had finished reading it he reprimanded Ch'ien-i, and Ch'ien-i admitted his shortcomings. His majesty sighed saying, "Had it not been for T'i-jên, I would have come close to disaster," and on the self-same day cashiered Ch'ien-i. In due course the court of revision reported on the case of Ch'ien-ch'iu, maintaining that Ch'ien-i had himself reported on the facts in advance of any accusation, and ought not to be penalized; so the emperor ordered a re-examination of the case. T'i-jên again memorialized the throne, protesting that the case in question had been written up by the band of Ch'ien-i alone. At this, CH'IAO Yun-shêng 喬允升<sup>125</sup> the president of the board of punishments, TS'AO Yu-pien 曹于汴 [1554-1630] the president of the censorate, K'ANG Hsin-min 康新民<sup>126</sup> the director of the grand court of revision, CHIANG Yun-i 蔣允儀<sup>127</sup> the director of the imperial stud, WEI Kuang-hsu 魏光緒<sup>128</sup> the vice governor of Peking, T'AO Ch'ung-tao 陶崇道<sup>129</sup> the supervising censor, the censors Wu Shêng [or Hsin] 吳姓,<sup>130</sup> FAN Shang-ching 樊尙璟,<sup>131</sup> and LIU T'ing-tso 劉廷佐<sup>132</sup> each memorialized that the number of officials who acted in the case of Ch'ien-ch'iu amounted to over a thousand, that it was not something which could be concealed by a single hand or a single mouth, and that T'i-jên had been deceptive in order to advance his own ambition. The latter saw that the report of [TS'AO] Yu-pien *et al.* could not be twisted; so he did not re-open the case of Ch'ien-ch'iu; he only accused Yu-

<sup>125</sup> Native of Loyang. According to the *Ming shih* 254 1a and the *Honan t'ung chih* 45 44b he graduated as *chin-shih* in 1592, but for some unexplained reason his name does not appear in the *T'i ming pei lu* under that year. He was imprisoned in the 12th moon of 1629.

<sup>126</sup> Native of An fu, Kiangsu, *chin-shih* 1607. *T'i ming pei lu*.

<sup>127</sup> From I hsing Kiangsu, *chin-shih* of 1616, died ca 1642. *Ming shih* 235 17a.

<sup>128</sup> From Wu hsing Shansi, *chin-shih* 1613. *T'i ming pei lu*.

<sup>129</sup> From K'uai chi, Chekiang, *chin-shih* 1610. *Idem*.

<sup>130</sup> Native of Hsing hua, Kiangsu, *chin-shih* 1613, entered the cabinet in 1642. *Ming shih* 252 14a.

<sup>131</sup> Native of Chin hsien, Kiangsu, *chin-shih* 1616. *T'i ming pei lu*.

<sup>132</sup> Native of Wan an, Kiangsu, *chin-shih* in 1616. *Idem*.

pien and his group of conspiring as a clique to shelter [Ch'ien-ch'iu]. Ch'ien-i was accordingly sentenced to the hastinado and escaped the sentence through ransom. (*Ming shih*, biography of Wên T'i-jen [or 308.28a].)

#### 4. Preparation of hooks.

The flogging of CHU Chi-yu 朱季友 for presenting a hook to the throne.

On the day *jen-hsü*, 7th moon, 2nd year of Yung-lo [August 28, 1404], CHU Chi-yu, a commoner of P'o-yang hsien, of Jao-chou [Kiangsi], presented his majesty with [29h] a hook in which the language used and points raised were perverse and which defamed the sages. The president of the board of ceremonial LI Chih-kang 李至剛<sup>133</sup> and the chancellor of the Hanlin Hsien Chin 解縉 [1369-1415] requested that he be dealt with according to law. The emperor replied, "If such a silly fellow is not remanded for punishment, his heterodox talk will poison later scholars," and told off a director of the court of state ceremonial to take him in custody to his native place, and have him beaten one hundred strokes in the presence of the lieutenant governor, provincial judge, prefect, and magistrate; then to search his house for whatever he had written and burn it. Finally he was not permitted to call himself scholar or to teach. (*T'ai-tsung shih lu*.)

According to the *San ch'ao shêng yü lu* 三朝聖諭錄<sup>134</sup> by YANG Shih-ch'ü 楊士奇 [1365-1444]: "In the second year of Yung-lo, the scholar CHU Chi-yu of Jao-chou-fu presented a hook to the throne disputing the utterances of Lien 濂, Lo 洛, Kuan 關, Min 閔<sup>135</sup> and recklessly casting abuse on them. At sight of this the emperor was greatly wroth and roared, 'This is an enemy of scholars.' Attending the emperor at this time were LI Chih-kang the president of the board of ceremonial, Hsien Chin the chancellor

<sup>133</sup> Native of Hua-t'ing, Kiangsu. Became president of the board in the 12th moon of 1402. *Ming shih* 151.9a.

<sup>134</sup> A work in three chuan; cf. *Ming shih* 97.5a.

<sup>135</sup> I.e., the Sung neo-Confucianists CHOU Tun-i, CH'ENG Hao, CH'ENG I, CHANG Tsai, and CHU Hsi.

of the Hanlin, HU Kuang 胡廣 [1370 1418] and YANG Shih ch'i, both suh readers. The emperor handed the book over to them for perusal. When Chin had finished reading it he exclaimed, 'He deceives mankind and cheats the people, no book is worse than this.' Chih kang added, 'If you do not punish him the public will not be warned. He should be bastinadoed and sent to far distant parts.' Shih ch'i opined, 'What he has written should be burned, thus later generations will not be led astray.' Kuang observed, 'I hear that the man is already seventy, burning his books will be sufficient warning.' The emperor declared, 'He has slandered the sages of the past and defamed the correct way of life. This is no ordinary crime. Can it be met by an ordinary penal statute?' and he gave orders that the director of the court of state ceremonial arrest Chi yu and take him back to Jao chou, there to assemble the lieutenant governor, the district magistrate the fu prefect, and all the scholars of his native place, and make clear to them his crime. He was bastinadoed before them all, and all his writings were collected in a heap and burned. The emperor also informed his ministers that the suppression of his noxious influence must be complete, and that the destruction of his entire literary output was an excellent thing. It is not made evident just what book it was that Chi yu submitted to the emperor, but since it disputed the arguments of the CH'ENG CHU school it must have dealt with metaphysics 性理.

The reprimanding of CHOU Hung mou 周洪謨<sup>136</sup> for his book

In the 5th moon of 16th year of Ch'eng hua [1480] the junior vice president of the board of ceremonial Chou Hung mou presented to the throne a book in three chuan of his own authorship entitled *I pien lu* 疑辨錄 "Discriminating between doubtful points." In this he maintained that although Chu Hsi had made commentaries on the *Five Classics* and *Four Books*, yet he had allowed some of the mistakes of Han and Tang scholarship to stand. [CHOU Hung mou] therefore implored the throne to let its ministers examine and draw up a revised [commentary] which

<sup>136</sup> Native of Chang ning Szechuan secundus among the chin shih who graduated in 1445 d. ed 1490 ae 72 sui *Ming shih* 184 1a.



might be submitted to his majesty for authorization. The emperor declared, "In the reign of Yung-lo of our house, the mistakes of the commentaries of Han, T'ang, and Sung times were examined and an authorized version issued;<sup>137</sup> all that is left is in accord with the original works. The scholars of the empire have now for a long period been reciting these books. The numerous corrections by the individual hand of Chou Hung-mou are consequently not permitted. (*Hsien-tsung shih lu*.)

According to the *Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu*, in its discussion of the *Ching shu* 經書 *i pien lu* in 3 chuan by Chou Hung-mou—in the 15th year of Ch'êng-hua [1479], when Hung-mou was [30a] president of the board of ceremonial,<sup>138</sup> he presented the book to the emperor. More than half the book argued that Chu tzü in his commentaries followed the errors of former scholars, but no prohibition was ordered against the marketing of the book.

The punishment of Ch'ên Kung-mao 陳公懋 for altering the [*Four*] *Books*.

In the 5th moon of the 20th year of Ch'êng-hua [1484], Ch'ên Kung-mao, a scholar from Wu-hsi [Kiangsu], made amendments to the commentary of the *Four Books* by Chu tzü and presented them to the emperor, who ordered them burned, and the culprit escorted home to be punished by his own district court. It happened, however, that his holding to 士則之 as a phrase, in the chapter on Fêng Fu 馮婦 by Mencius,<sup>139</sup> gained currency and was so recited. (*Huang Ming hsien chang lei pien* 皇明憲章類編.<sup>139</sup>)

<sup>137</sup> According to the *Kang chien i chih lu* 綱鑑易知錄 4 3a, this work was ordered in Yung lo 12/12 (ca Jan 1415)

<sup>138</sup> There is some mistake here, according to the tables in the *Ming shih* 111 24a, he did not receive this appointment until the 2nd moon of the 17th year

<sup>139</sup> Cf *Meng tzü* 7, pt 2, 23, 2, or LEGGE, *Ch'ü* 2, 488. LEGGE punctuated it in the orthodox way 晉人有馮婦者，善搏虎，卒爲善士，則之野，有衆逐虎。 . . . "There was a man named Feng Fu in Chin, famous for his skill in seizing tigers. Afterwards he became a scholar of reputation, and going once out to the wild country, he found the people all in pursuit of a tiger." The suggested punctuation of Ch'ên Kung-mao would alter the meaning thus: Afterwards he became a good man. The officers made him their pattern. In the wild country all the people were pursuing a tiger. . . . LEGGE does not suggest this as an alternative reading.

<sup>140</sup> A work in 42 chuan by LAO K'an 勞堪 of Te-hua, Kiangsi, *chin-shih* of 1556. The work was ordered suppressed in the Ch'ien-lung period, but a few copies have

The execution of Ch'ên Tzū ching 陳子經 for his *T'ung chien hsu pien* 通鑑續編 [or Supplement to the *T'ung chien kang mu*]

As to the *T'ung chien hsu pien* of Ch'ên Tzū ching,—if we look at his letter in reply to CHIANG Yu 姜羽儀 [we shall find] it to maintain that the usurpation of SUNG T'ai tsu [in 960] was not different from that of KUO Wei 郭威<sup>139a</sup>. He approached the question from several angles, arguing first one way and then another. He judged their intentions by their actions, which is in accord with the guiding principles of the *Ch'un Ch'u*. Yu 1 was of one mind with him in his argument, so on receipt of Tzū ching's letter, he burned his own manuscript. We can see in a general way from this that his method of writing history was impartial. But Ch'î 顧<sup>140</sup> long ago heard his maternal uncle WANG 王 hsien shêng say The *Hsu pien* wrote that [CHAO] K'uang yin [1 e Sung T'ai tsu] ennobled the lord of Chou [last emperor of Hou Chou] as prince of Chêng 鄭. Tzu ching altered the word *jêng* 奉 "ennobled" to *fei* 廢 "got rid of". Just as he was reclining and mulling over this, a clap of thunder suddenly shook his table, later on he met with death at the command of [Ming] T'ai tsu, his brother and nephew following him disappeared, and the entire clan was obliterated (*Hsien chung chin ku lu*).

As for the sufferings endured by authors of the Ming period, some have not yet been minutely examined. Of the four examples given above, the most dreadful calamities befell Ch'ên Tzū ching, not only was his own life lost, but also the lives of his younger brother and his nephew, and his entire family was extinguished.

## 5 Explanation of books to his Majesty

WANG Ta 王達<sup>141</sup> is suspected for his explanation of the *I*

survived. The Library of Congress for example has a copy in the original edition with preface by Hsu Chih 徐棧 of 1578. See *Rept of the Libr of Congress* for 1924 Appendix 3 (by Walter T. SWINGLE) 268.

<sup>139a</sup> Who reigned as Hou Chou T'ai tsu 951-953.

<sup>140</sup> Under ordinary circumstances this would be the given name of the author but HUANG Pu was the writer of the *Hsien chung chin ku lu* (see n 21 above). Perhaps he was the compiler and this represents a quotation plucked from another source. Not having the complete work the translator is unable to pass on this point.

<sup>141</sup> Native of Chiang chow Shansi *chin shih* 1385. *T'ung ming pei lu*

In the 7th moon of the 2nd year of Yung-lo [1404], the Hanlin reader WANG Ta expounded the 乾九四 fourth Nine [or line] of the *ch'ien* diagram in the *I*,<sup>142</sup> as though alluding to the heir apparent. At the end of his discussion the heir apparent summoned an official [YANG] Shih-ch'i [*v. supra*] to him and inquired, "In this particular text of the classic, surely there cannot be any allusion to the heir apparent. Ta is not insulting me, is he?" Shih-ch'i replied, "An expositor may not go out of the true way in his explanation. How dare he insult your Highness. The idea issues from the commentary of Hu Yuan 胡瑗 [993-1059], a scholar of the Sung." The heir apparent then asked, "If this be the idea of the text as applied to me, what is the explanation when an ordinary man gets this line of the hexagram?" To which [Shih-ch'i] replied, "Your Highness has raised an excellent question," so he quoted the following comment of CH'ENG tzü, "In every hexagram are six lines. They are of use to every man: for the sage, a sage's use; for the common fellow, an ordinary man's use; for the sovereign, a sovereign's use; for the minister, a minister's use; there is none for whom they have no currency." He likewise quoted the comment of WANG Chao-su 王昭素<sup>143</sup> to Sung T'ai-tsu, which pleased the heir apparent. (*San ch'ao shêng* [30h] *yu lu*.)

The degradation of CHIAO Fang 焦芳<sup>144</sup> for his exposition of *Wên hua ta hsun* 文華大訓.<sup>145</sup>

In the second moon of the third year of Hung-chih [1490], as CHIAO Fang was being shifted to Hukuang from his post as assistant to the provincial judge of Szechuan, he sent in the following memorial, "Formerly, while serving as expositor of the

<sup>142</sup> See ZUNG, Z. D. *The text of the Yi k'ing* (1935), 8.

<sup>143</sup> Native of Kaifeng, Xth century; student of the *I*, on which he wrote a commentary. At the age of 77 *sui*, he saw the emperor, and was asked about the 飛龍在天. The emperor remarked, "This book [the *I*] may not be seen by the ordinary mortal, may it?" Chao-su replied, "If a sage does not appear, one has no connection with this symbol." *Sung shih* 431 18ab.

<sup>144</sup> From Pi yang Honan, Honan, *chin-shih* 1461 *Ming shih* 302.2a.

<sup>145</sup> A work in 28 chuan, compiled in the time of Hsien tsung (1425-57). Not printed until the time of Shih tsung (1522-66), when it appeared with its preface. *Ming shih* 98 1b.

Hanlin, Your unworthy servant was ordered by the previous emperor to be an instructor in the classics to his Majesty, and also to wait upon Your Majesty while You were still heir apparent and expound the classics to You. It is the humble opinion of Your servant that he is without natural endowment and is a pretender in the Academy. The exposition of the principles of Yao, Shun, Chou kung, and Confucius in the presence of Your Majesty is no ordinary occasion, in fact, it is one which is extraordinary, rarely experienced at any time past or present. What manner of man is Your servant to dare to assume such a task. I was constantly taking an oath that I might not deceive Your Majesty, that I might of a certainty explain the central message clearly to You, but only a fraction of the responsibility of my office was I able to discharge. Hardly had I discussed the right paths to follow when I ran headlong into trouble. On the 16th day, 3rd moon of the 16th year of Ch'êng hua [April 25, 1480], I was expounding the *chin hsueh* section 進學篇 of the *Yu chih* 御製 *wên hua ta hsun* in which was quoted the memorial of Ch'êng tzü to the paternal grandmother of the emperor in the period of Sung Chê tsung [1086-1100]. It contained the following comments on how to help rear the emperor in the path of virtue: "When the people of old gave birth to children, they began counselling them when the children were able of themselves to eat and speak, thus paving the way for instruction in the moral law. When one is a child he is without knowledge and experience to guide him. It is just at this juncture that one ought to put wise maxims and the most reasonable speech daily before him. Although they are beyond his comprehension, still they must be dinned into his ears so that his whole person is permeated with them. Thus in time he is habituated, as though he were so inherently by nature. Even if one sought to delude him with other words, they would not gain entrance." The chief supervisor of instruction, P'êng Hua 彭華,<sup>146</sup> had actually changed the two words *chih ssu* 知思 'knowledge and experience' to *chih yu* 智愚 'intelligent and stupid.' When your humble servant had just be-

<sup>146</sup> From An fu Kiangsi first among the *chu-jen* of 1454. *Ming shih* 163 12a.

come an expositor, I explained this passage as it was written, and then I considered, The phrase 智愚未有所主 'without intelligence and stupidity to guide one' made no sense. Consequently I took the *I-ch'uan wên chi* 伊川文集 [The writings of CH'ENG I] and examined it. I was afraid that the two characters *chih ssü* had been printed incorrectly. Then I examined the manuscript copy, and likewise checked the *Sung wên chien* 宋文鑑<sup>147</sup> and the memorials of the ministers of state. In each were the two characters *chih ssü*, not *chih yü* . . . [31a]. . .

[The upshot of this affair was that CHIAO Fang complained about P'ENG Hua to a grand secretary. In his presence Hua agreed that he might have made a mistake, but when the two were alone Hua upbraided Fang for finding him at fault, maintaining in spite of the evidence that CH'ENG tzü himself must have written it so. Later on another charge was trumped up against Fang, so that he was demoted. Hence CHIAO Fang's report explaining his early troubles, so that in the future they might not be used against him. (The translator.)] (*Hsiao-tsung shih lu*.) [31b]

According to the *Ku jang tsa lu* 古積雜錄<sup>148</sup> by LI Hsien 李賢 [1408-1466]: "When the first Ming emperor read books, he discussed them at great length, but he argued against the commentaries of CHU Hsi. With every scholar who submitted expositions of the *Lun yü*, etc., he needs must be disputatious. He exclaimed over CHU Hsi as follows, 'The Sung group were a lot of impractical old schoolmen.' As an example he took the sentence: 'The tribes of the east and north have their princes, and are not, like our great land, without.'<sup>149</sup> He argued against [CHU Hsi] saying, 'The barbarians are like wild animals, and have none of the principles of *jên, i, li, chih*. Confucius' meaning was that the people of China, although without a sovereign as overlord,

<sup>147</sup> A work in 150 chuan by LU Tsu-ch'ên 呂祖謙 (1137-81) *Sung shih* 209 7a. He was likewise the compiler of *Kuo ch'ao ming ch'ên tsou* 國朝名臣奏議 in 10 chuan, which may be what is referred to next.

<sup>148</sup> A work in two chuan *Ming shih* 98 6a.

<sup>149</sup> *Lun yü* 3, 5, translation by SOOTHILL, *op cit* 186. SOOTHILL gives CHU Hsi's explanation of this passage as 'The sage grieved over the anarchy of the times and bewailed it'.

still were acquainted with *li* and *i*, and were thus superior to the barbarians who were possessed of a chief as leader. The Sung schoolmen maintained that the people of China were not the equal of the barbarians. Was this not a blunder?'<sup>150</sup> Another explanation [of the emperor was on the passage]: 'To devote oneself to irregular speculation is decidedly harmful.'<sup>151</sup> He attacked [CHU Hsi's explanation of] *kung* 攻 saying, 'Kung here has the meaning of assault, and *i* 已 the meaning of halt. Confucius' meaning was to attack heresy, to stop the injury brought on by heterodoxy, and let orthodoxy have the right of way. Now the Sung schoolmen held that *kung* meant entirely working to the point of excellence, making the injury very great. Is this not a mistake?' Another on: 'I can try a lawsuit as well as other men, but surely the great thing is to bring about that there be no going to law.'<sup>152</sup> The emperor contended, 'From ancient times there have been no wiser monarchs than Yao and Shun. The civilization of China has never been superior to that in their times, yet Kao Yao 皋陶<sup>153</sup> was the chief criminal judge, and determined the five punishments. If in these times lawsuits did not take place, what need was there to set up this office? With so large an empire, and so many people in constant contact, however, how could there be no lawsuits? Confucius' meaning was: I am no different from any man when hearing litigations, but I can tell when he is a true man or a false, when crooked or straight, and make no incorrect judgments. After making a sentence, there is no further grievance. The Sung schoolmen declared that the foundations must be made firm, and the sources cleansed, and then there will be no lawsuits. Is this not incorrect?' In this fashion did he argue many times. From Han and T'ang to the present one has seldom seen any monarch able to take such interest in the classics. It was due to the excellence of his natural

<sup>150</sup> The emperor's explanation was of course not novel. The third century (A.D.) commentator Ho Yen 何晏 had anticipated him. See LEGGE, *Ch' Ch' I*, 1, 156, note 5.

<sup>151</sup> *Lun yü* 2, 16, translation by SOOTHILL, *ibid.*, 166. CHU explained *kung* as 'working upon'.

<sup>152</sup> *Lun yü* 12, 13.

<sup>153</sup> GILES, *Bio. Dict.* #965.

endowments, unlike those of ordinary mortals, that he was able to make so many of his perceptions and give utterance to them." The emperor doted on opposing the commentaries with his own opinions. When the scholars offered their explanations he must needs argue with them. At this time the number of officials who were expositors and who were closely associated with him, who fell on evil days because their explanations did not tally with his or because their language broke taboos, must have been great. It is unfortunate that I have been unable to go into them one by one.

## 6. Poetry.

In the matter of poetry, one may find in both orthodox and unorthodox historical records many cases of versifiers who have disregarded taboos. Probably the majority occur at the beginning of the Ming, but every [32a] reign has them. It is certainly because the first emperor was so very suspicious and full of guile, and because he was of lowly origin and consequently enjoyed bragging but did not want people to draw attention to his deficiencies or abilities. According to a story recorded in the unorthodox histories, when LIU Chi [*v. supra* p. 255] first went to see the first emperor the latter asked him if he were able to compose poetry. To which Chi replied, "This is the equipment of every scholar. How can I say that I do not know how?" Just at this time the emperor was at dinner; so he pointed at the mottled bamboo chopsticks he was using and suggested a fu 賦 on them. Chi consented and replied, "If we look at a pair of jades from the Hsiang river<sup>184</sup> together, [we see] in their spots the traces of tears shed by the two widows [of Shun]." The emperor contracted his brows saying, "This has the flavor of a tyro's [lit. hsiu-ts'ai's] effort." To which Chi made answer, "Not a hit of it. The duration for four hundred years of the house of Han was the result of the horrowing [of chopsticks from Han Kao-tsu] by CHANG Liang 張良 [d. 187 B. C.]" His majesty was vastly pleased, and was of the opinion that his encounter with [LIU Chi] had been delayed over long. WANG Shih-chên [*v. supra* p. 276]

<sup>184</sup> In modern Hunan, for the legend, see GILES, *Dict* #4252

has remarked that this is an interesting titbit, but suspects it to be a legend. When CHI had his first audience it was in the company of SUNG Lien [*v supra*], CHANG I 章誼 [1314-1369], and YEH Ch'en 葉琛<sup>155</sup>. It was not likely that to him alone such a question would be put, and it is not to be seen in the *Li Mei kung chi* 犁眉公集<sup>156</sup> where the effusions addressed to the emperor are included, so it must be false (*Shih ch'êng k'ao wu* 史乘考誤<sup>157</sup>). Now it seems to me that the first emperor's delight in pretty speeches was natural to him. LIU Chu, furthermore, was an adept in astrology and a conjuror with numbers. The remarks which might have passed between these two have a verisimilitude, and so it seems to me that this affair probably took place. It is not necessary that he should have been accompanied by SUNG Lien, CHANG I, and YEH Ch'en, nor must [the poem] necessarily appear in the *Li Mei kung chi* to be credited. Let me submit other examples of a similar sort.

[There follow several examples in which the poets suffer no injury (The translator)] [33a]

The evil which befell KAO Ch'í 高啓 [1336-1374] for poetry on palace matters 宮詞

KAO Ch'í, *tzu* Chi ti 季迪, a native of Ch'ang chou [Kiangsu], deeply learned in the art of poetry, was summoned to prepare the Yuan history. He was made Hanlin compiler in the bureau of history. In the autumn of Hung wu 3 [1370] he was appointed vice president of the board of revenue, but he resolutely declined, so he was presented silver and permitted to leave. Ch'í on one occasion had composed a poem containing a criticism of the emperor. The emperor resented it, but did not let his feelings show. On [Ch'í's] retirement he lived at Ch'ing ch'ü [Chekiang], where he taught school for his support. Wei Kuan 魏觀,<sup>158</sup> the prefect of Soochow, had him removed to Soochow, where they talked from morning till night to each other's great satisfaction.

<sup>155</sup> A scholar from Li shui Chekiang *Ming shih* 128 13a

<sup>156</sup> A work in 4 chuan by Liu Chi *Ming shih* 99 1h

<sup>157</sup> An unorthodox history of the Ming in 10 chuan by WANG Shih-chen *Ssu ku* catalogue 90 2a

<sup>158</sup> Native of P'u-chi Hupeh *Ming shih* 140 1a



Kuan made changes in the structure of his office and was punished therefor. When the emperor saw Ch'i's *Shang liang wen* 上梁文 "Essay on putting up the cross beam," he was angry and had him cut assunder in the market place when he was thirty-nine. (*Ming shih*, biography of KAO Ch'i [or 285.20h])

Now I have examined the *Yung hua lei pien* 泳化類編,<sup>159</sup> the *Ch'i hsiu lei kao* 七修類稿,<sup>160</sup> the *Tung wu ming hsien chi* 東吳名賢記,<sup>161</sup> the *Hsu wu hsien hsien chuan* 續吳先賢傳,<sup>162</sup> the *Tz'ü lin jên wu k'ao* 詞林人物考,<sup>163</sup> and the *Ch'uan hsin lu* 傳信錄,<sup>164</sup> and all declare that his execution was due to the essay *Shang liang*. This essay does not appear in his *Fu tsao chi* 免藻集,<sup>165</sup> but the poem *Chun chih* 郡治 *shang liang* "Putting up the cross beam at the prefectural office" remains in his *Ta ch'uan chi* 大全集.<sup>166</sup> Whether this [i. e. the former] was not saved because it was concealed, or because it was lost and never recovered, we cannot tell. In my opinion his poem contains some criticism, and it was this which brought about his ruin; is it not so? In his *Ta ch'uan chi* is a poem entitled *Kung nu t'u shih* 宮女圖詩 reading:

The slaves support their lady when drunk and treading the green moss,  
Just as the moon is at its brightest in the western garden, and she returning after  
feasting with his majesty;  
A small dog by the flowers harks when he sees the shadow,  
At this time of night who is coming in the forbidden palace?

<sup>159</sup> A work in 136 chuan, plus *tsa chü* 2 chuan, by T'eng Ch'iu 鄧球, a *chin-shih* of 1535 *Ming shih* 97 8a

<sup>160</sup> A work in 51 chuan by LANG Ying 郎瑛 of the 16th century *Ibid* 98 7b

<sup>161</sup> A work in 2 chuan by CHOU Fu chun 周復俊, a *chin-shih* of 1532 *Ssu-k'u Catalogue* 61 8b

<sup>162</sup> A work in 15 chuan by LIU Feng 劉鳳, a *chin-shih* of 1544 The Imperial Catalogue gives the last character as *tsan* 贊 *Ibid* 61 9b

<sup>163</sup> By WANG Chao-yun 王兆雲 of the Wan li period According to the *Ming shih* 97 17b it is a work in 16 chuan, according to the *Ssu k'u Catalogue* 62 7a it is one in 12 chuan, and the title should begin with the character *Ming* 明.

<sup>164</sup> A work in one chuan by CH'EN Yu yüeh 陳虞岳, descendant in the 5th generation of CH'EN Hsun (v *supra*) According to the Imperial Catalogue (60 3a) the complete title should be *Ch'uan hsin pien hsu* 辨誤 錄

<sup>165</sup> By KAO Ch'i, a work in 5 chuan, published 1728 *Ibid* 169 9a

<sup>166</sup> A work in 18 chuan, plus *ts'u* 詞 in one chuan, by the same author *Ming shih* 99 2b

The *Lieh ch'ao shih chi* [v. *supra*] of CH'IENT Ch'ien-i explains this poem thus: "The unorthodox annals of Wu-chung 吳中<sup>167</sup> records that Chi-ti [i.e. KAO Ch'i] suffered because of this poem, but I presumed at first that it was an unfounded supposition. Then I looked into the authorized reports of the beginning of the dynasty which record the criminal cases of the lesser marquises—the son and nephew of LI, duke of Han 李韓公<sup>168</sup>—and the circumstances of the crime of the Marquis of Yu-chang 豫章侯,<sup>169</sup> put down by the own hand of the first emperor, concealing nothing. Hence we know that this poem by Chi-ti dealt with these affairs. Even if it had been written better than the best poem of all time, this poem with its ridicule would have aroused the ire of the first emperor, who seized the excuse of Prefect WEI's imprisonment [to slay him] This is a reasonable explanation. If we examine the affair of the Marquis of Yu-chang [we discover that] it occurred in Hung-wu 17 [1384], while Ch'i's end occurred about ten years earlier. The imprisonment of LI Shan-ch'ang, duke of Han, fell in Hung-wu 23 [1390], seven years later than that of the Marquis of Yu-chang. It would seem that the emperor could not suspect in Ch'i's poem any satire. But when the eldest daughter of HU Mei (the Marquis of Yu-chang) [33b] was made a concubine, the sentence of death on him and his sons and sons-in-law resulted from his taking them to visit her, and their subsequent disruption of the peace of the forbidden apartments. In the em-

<sup>167</sup> The translator takes this to be the region of Kiang nan, and not an author's name.

<sup>168</sup> LI Shan-ch'ang 李善長 (1315-90), prime minister during the years 1368-71, had a son Ch'i 麒 who married the daughter of the emperor, and a nephew Yu 佑, son of his younger brother Ts'un 存義, who married a niece of HU Wei yung (see note 8 above), prime minister 1373-80. In 1390 HU was executed. In 1385 someone charged LI Ts'un 存 and LI Yu with having been in the same clique with HU Wei yung. They were forgiven the death penalty but sent to Ch'ung ming, Kiangsu. LI Shan-ch'ang should have thanked the emperor for this act of mercy, but did not and fell into disfavor. In 1390 TING Pin 丁斌, a relative of LI Shan-ch'ang, fell into the bad graces of the emperor on the ground that he had worked with HU Wei yung. Result—the slaughter of over 70 members of these families. The life of LI Ch'i, however, was spared, and he was sent to Chuang p'u, Kiangsu. *Ming shih* 127.1a.

<sup>169</sup> HU Mei 胡美, d. 1390. His daughter became a concubine of the emperor and was visited in the palace by HU Mei and his sons and sons-in-law, there they got into some sort of devilment and were all killed, HU Mei being allowed to commit suicide. *Ibid* 129.16a.

peror's own handwriting may be seen a detailed statement on the treacherous group; so [their escapade] actually occurred. Now Ch'i's poem might have been composed just at the time when the favor of the concubine was at its height, and may not have been a satire on the palace intrigue which happened some time later. History records: 'Satire appears in Ch'i's poems; the emperor hated him for it but did nothing.' This hits the mark. It is not necessary to connect his case up with the crimes of the Marquis of Yu-chang and LI, the duke of Han."

The disaster which befell CH'ÊN Yang-hao 陳養浩 for his poem.

The assistant secretary of a hoard CH'ÊN Yang-hao composed a poem reading:

To the south of the city is a wife without her husband  
Weeping night after night for her wandering lord

On learning of this, the emperor took it as a criticism of the times, and had the author removed to Hu-kuang, where he had him drowned. (*Kuo ch'u shih chi* [see note 36 above].)

The sufferings of CHANG Hsin [*v. supra*] for teaching the writing of a poem by TU [Fu].

The Hanlin compiler CHANG Hsin, a native of Ssü-ming [Che-kiang], received a command from the emperor to instruct the princes. Hsin took as a model of a poem one by TU of four stanzas beginning:

Below my house the tender sprouts of the bamboo pierce through the walls<sup>170</sup>

The emperor enraged roared out, "My great and glorious dynasty! How can he jeer at it like this!" and ordered him cut in twain to force compliance [with his will]. (*Huang Ming chi lueh* 皇明記畧.<sup>171</sup>)

According to the *K'o shih k'ao* of Yen-chou 兗州 [namely WANG Shih-chên], "In Hung-wu 27 [1394], those chosen in the *chin-shih* examinations included P'ENG Tê 彭德<sup>172</sup> and others. In the

<sup>170</sup> See *Tu kung pu ts'ao t'ang shih chuen* 杜工部草堂詩箋 (*Wen jui lou* 文瑞樓 publ. co., Shanghai) 37 11a

<sup>171</sup> A miscellany of early Ming anecdotes in one chuan by Huang fu Lu 皇甫錄, native of Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu, who graduated as *chin-shih* in 1496. The reprint in the *Ts'ung-shu chi ch'êng* (#3962) has a preface by the author's son dated 1542

<sup>172</sup> Native of Fêng hsiang, Shensi. *T'ung ming pei lu*

palace examinations CHANG Hsin was granted first place Hsin was a native of Ting hai [Chekiang] and became a sub reader in the Hanlin Later, because he taught prince Han 韓<sup>173</sup> the poem of Tu with its vilification [of the throne] and because in the draft of his examination paper he omitted the two words *yu chih* 御製,<sup>174</sup> he was found guilty Finally, because of an affair in the examinations he was executed" The conclusion of this is that Hsin suffered death because in Hung wu 30 [1397] he did not perform his public duty in the scrutiny of the papers presented in the *chin shih* examinations, directed by Liu San wu The original cause, however, was due to his teaching prince Han the poem of Tu

The sufferings endured by the two Buddhist monks I ch'u 一初 and Chih an 止菴 for their poetry

At the end of the Yuan there were [two] excellent priests one a native of Ssu ming [Chekiang] named Shou jen 守仁, *tsu* I ch'u, and the other from Hangchow named Te hsiang 德祥, *tsu* Chih an Both of them had ambitions for achievement in public affairs but at this juncture no use was made of their talents, so they tonsured their heads and turned all their energy to poetry I ch'u therefore said, "Though I have put my efforts into composition, yet have I not cast aside my [monkish] duty to fish for a reputation, I have no alternative" Chih an said, "Is the composing of poetry my business? Rather would I do something [worthy of] courtly clothes" In view of these comments we realize what were their real desires At the commencement of the Ming they were summoned to the capital, and subsequently put in charge of Buddhist affairs I ch'u wrote on the subject of the kingfisher,

I have heard it said that Yen chou [Szechuan] has sent to the emperor a coat of kingfisher green, every day nets are spread in every direction to catch these birds His feathers are sufficient to make a bird suffer capture How can he light in the branches of trees, in their autumnal dress, and expect to be hidden?

<sup>173</sup> Twentieth son by a concubine of Ming Tai tsu In 1391 he was ennobled but did not go to his fief Died 1407 *Ming shih* 102 16a

<sup>174</sup> Words used at the beginning of a title of a work composed by imperial authority

Chih an had a poem on the western garden in summer, reading, "A newly constructed little hut made of grass in the western garden In the days of great heat there is no place to cool oneself In the sixth moon the water in the ponds is quite [34a] shallow In three years the trees in the wood have not grown to their full height I sweep the floor often in the hope of cleansing my body and mind I am fond of opening the window but I do not burn incense In the evening only from the willows to the south of the rivulet comes a breeze, but then I fear the chirp of the cicada disturbing the setting sun' On seeing these effusions the emperor remarked to I-ch'u, "You do not wish to serve me, saying that the meshes of the law under me are fine?" And to Chih an he declared, 'In your poem you say that in the hot weather there is no place in which to cool off, meaning that my penalties are too severe? Again when you say that in the sixth moon the water is shallow, and in three years trees have not yet grown to maturity, do you mean that my method of government is shallow and that it cannot achieve a flourishing state? In [your phrase about] sweeping the floor often and not burning incense, do your words mean that I am afraid of people's criticism and kill them ruthlessly, and that I can do no good?' So he sentenced both, and neither died a natural death (*Ch'i hsiu lei kao*)

A poem which brought disaster to monks in a Buddhist monastery

As the first emperor went incognito on a stroll to a temple [one day] he saw a poem written on a wall concerning Pu tai fo 布袋佛 <sup>175</sup> "In the great universe of a thousand worlds life abounds, yet all of it may be stored in one bag In the end there is both accumulation and dispersion Loosen the bag a trifle, and it will not harm you at all' Because of this screed he had every priest in the temple put to death This poem, figuratively touching on the tyranny of the government of that day and age, was altogether too thinly veiled, so [the monks] were rightly punished (*Ch'i hsiu lei kao*)

<sup>175</sup> D ed ca 917 See CHAPIN Helen B The Chan Master Pu tai JAOS 53 (1933) 47-50

A poem which cost the Buddhist monk Lai-fu 來復<sup>176</sup> his life.

The monk Lai-fu in thanking the emperor for his kindness submitted a poem containing the phrases *shu yu* 殊域 "strange land," and "I feel very ashamed because I am without the virtue to sing the praise of T'ao T'ang 陶唐 [i. e. Yao]." The emperor replied, "You have used the character *shu* with the meaning *tai chu* 歹朱 the vicious Chu. And your words, 'without the virtue to praise Yao,' mean that I am devoid of virtue, and that you wish to extol me as though I were Yao when I cannot be thus extolled." Whereupon he executed the monk. (*Êrh-shih-êrh shih cha chi* 二十二史劄記.<sup>177</sup>)

Chang K'ai's 張楷 [1398-1460] loss of official position for his poem, *New Year's Eve* 除夕詩.

In the 5th moon of the 14th year of Chêng-t'ung [1449] WANG Chao 王詔,<sup>178</sup> the supervising censor attached to the board of ceremonial, informed the court of an uprising of rebels in Fukien. The emperor instructed the chief military officer 都督 LIU Chu 劉聚<sup>179</sup> and the vice president of the censorate CHANG K'ai to proceed with soldiery and exterminate them. From the moment these officials reached Chien-ning [Fukien] they amused themselves with music and singing, and wilfully conducted themselves in an overhearing manner. K'ai had previously in spare moments composed poetry after the manner of the T'ang [masters]; now he compelled the prefect of Chien-ning to publish it, and put aside his military duties. Realizing that he was not capable of this responsibility, the emperor next ordered CH'ÊN Mao 陳懋,<sup>180</sup> marquis of Nin-yang [Shantung], and others to proceed there. As soon as the large body of troops arrived they smote the handits. K'ai and his group, with deceit in their hearts, memorialized saying that his son Ying-lin 應麟 and others won merit [in the

<sup>176</sup> Surnamed HUANG 黃. He was a native of Feng ch'eng, Kiangsi. Lived at the end of the Yuan and beginning of the Ming. *Chung kuo jên ming ta tz'ü tien* (Chinese Biog. Diet.), 520

<sup>177</sup> By CHAO I 趙翼 (1727-1814), a work in 36 chuan, printed 1800

<sup>178</sup> From Ning-chin, Chihli, *chin-shih* 1464 *Ming shih* 185 10b

<sup>179</sup> Nephew of the eunuch LIU Yung-ch'eng 永誠, and a native of Ch'ing feng, Chihli. *Ibid* 155 10b

<sup>180</sup> D 1463, ac 84 sui. *Ibid*. 145 15b

fighting]. But the names of Ying-lin and the rest were not included in the [list of] military officers; so how could they have shared in the victory? Their real desire [we can see] was only to seek luster for themselves and their families. "Again, K'ai while at this spot composed a poem which included the lines: 'The peaceful evening is disturbed by the roll of drums in mountain fastnesses. Alas! that the people have to live at this time.' Also the lines: 'With times so out of joint, where can we go for wine? Three cupfuls of inferior wine [34b] are better than none at all.' And again: 'There's no need to set off fire crackers in the courtyard. The alarm beacons of the four mountains make red the faces of all men.' And so on. The poems spread even to the capital, and many were those who praised them. With versifications of this sort, we can judge the spirit of the author. He deserved his penalty, as a warning for the future." The emperor declared, "Wait till CHANG K'ai returns; then prepare a true report for my information." (*Ying-tsung shih lu*.) Finally he was adjudged guilty on account of these things and removed from office.

WU T'ing-chu's 吳廷舉<sup>151</sup> loss of office for a poem.

During the period of Chia-ching, the former governor and Nanking associate president of the censorate Wu T'ing-chu was appointed to the presidency of the Nanking board of works,<sup>152</sup> but declined and requested home leave on account of illness. The emperor consoled him. Whereupon he sent his thanks to the throne in a memorial, which contained these lines from a poem of Po Chu-i: "For a post of the second rank my salary is one hundred thousand cash a month. The court hires me to act the man of leisure." He also introduced the lines of CHANG Yung 張詠 [946-1015]: "Fortunately the country is in such a state of peace, there is naught to do; leisure has ruined the old president of the hoard in Kiang-nan [i. e., himself]." Both of these passages contained words savoring of ridicule; furthermore, in his memorial there occurred the ejaculation "alas!" 嗚呼, etc. The em-

<sup>151</sup> Native of Wu-chou, Kuangsi, *chin-shih* 1487 *Ibid* 201 4b

<sup>152</sup> This happened in 1524

peror, on seeing it, was beside himself with rage. He accused T'ing-chu of harboring a grievance and of being ignorant of the manners befitting a servant of the throne, and forthwith dismissed him. (*Shih-tsung shih lu*.)

\* \* \* \* \*

The above description, under six heads, of literary persecution under the Ming, is for the most part verifiable. During these three hundred years there must surely have been many more cases of suffering due to literary creation. For example, in the period of Ching-t'ai [1450-56], Ho Wên-yuan 何文淵<sup>183</sup> was made to commit suicide because of something which he had written [for the emperor] in the edict about changing the heir apparent. In the period of T'ien-shun [1457-64], Hsieh Hsuan 薛瑄<sup>184</sup> used a mistaken appellation in inditing the letters patent for Prince Chin 晉,<sup>185</sup> and was dismissed. In the Ch'êng-hua period [1465-87] CHANG Mao 章懋 [1436-1521] and others were bastinadoed and degraded for their poems, composed on the emperor's order, in celebration of the evening of the 15th day of the first moon.<sup>186</sup> Ts'AO Lung 曹隆<sup>187</sup> and others, for mistakes in the *piao* submitted to the throne, were cast into prison. The crimes of some were great, of some small, and their punishments correspondingly heavy and light. So many were [the sufferers] they are beyond calculation. Generally, the absolute monarchs had no profound knowledge of literature, and a writer had to exercise every caution in the choice of words, or he would meet with disaster. Among all the emperors of the house of Ming none was wiser and more benevolent than Hsiao-tsung [1488-1505], yet in his

<sup>183</sup> Native of Kuang-ch'ang, Kiangsi, *chin-shih* in 1418. In 1451 he became president of the board of civil office, in the 6th moon of 1453 he was sent to prison. *Ibid* 111 18a

<sup>184</sup> Born 1392 in Ho-chin, Shansi. In the *chu jên* examinations held in Honan 1420, he came out first. Graduated as *chin-shih* the following year. Entered the cabinet in the first moon of 1457. Dismissed the 6th moon. Died 1464. *Ibid* 109 18a, 222 7a

<sup>185</sup> This occurred in the 2nd moon of 1457, according to *ibid* 116 7b

<sup>186</sup> This event occurred in 1467 when CHANG Mao was Hanlin compiler, second class. *Ibid* 179 4b

<sup>187</sup> An officer who followed the fortunes of Yen wang. In the 9th year of Yung lo (1411) he died and was posthumously made earl of Anyang. *Ming shih kao* 145 3b. This story is not given in the biography cited.



memorial impeaching CHANG Ho-hng 張鶴齡<sup>188</sup> Li Mêng-yang 李夢陽<sup>189</sup> wrote, "Your majesty treats the member of the CHANG family 張氏 very well." The emperor mistakenly saw in this a reference to the empress, a member of the CHANG family, accused him of being devoid of the manners befitting an official, and had him confined by the imperial guard. Do we not know that people in Han times said, "For the Liu clan 劉氏 roll up the left sleeve,"<sup>190</sup> and people in the Sung said, "The members of the house of CHAO 趙氏 are tranquil while the Miao 苗氏 are in danger?" In these instances they meant the families of Liu 劉家 and CHAO 趙家. Even so enlightened and gracious a monarch as Hsiao-tsung was not free from such acts. What was to be expected of the others?

<sup>188</sup> Son of CHANG Luan 莊 who was the father of the empress. He inherited his father's title of Marquis of Shou-ming 壽寧. *Ming shih* 300 17a, 114 1b-3a

<sup>189</sup> 1472-1529. This event occurred in 1505. *Ibid* 286 10b. (The Ming history makes a mistake of a year in the dates during which he graduated as *chu-jên* and *chin shih*. They should be 1492 and 1493 respectively, and not 1493 and 1494. See *T'ing ming pei lu* and *Kung chü k'ao lueh* 1 24b.)

<sup>190</sup> Remark of Chou Po 周勃 (d. B. C. 169). *Tzu'uan* 寅 158

# AU TIBET PAR LA VALLÉE DE LA SALOUEN

A. GUIBAUT

CHEF DE LA MISSION GUIBAUT-LIOTARD, 1936-37

Nous\* avons formé le projet d'atteindre le Tibet Oriental par la route du Mékong. Cette piste muletière qui relie la Chine Méridionale à Lhassa nous faisait passer, aux environs du 30<sup>ème</sup> degré de latitude, à proximité d'une gorge du grand fleuve indo-chinois, gorge encore totalement inexplorée. Mais en Asie, les événements se développent de façon souvent imprévisible et se chargent de modifier profondément les beaux programmes établis à Paris, dans le calme des bibliothèques. C'est ainsi qu'au lieu d'explorer les gorges du Mékong, nous avons visité celles de la Salouen.

De quelque côté qu'on tente d'y pénétrer, le Tibet est défendu âprement par de hautes chaînes de montagnes ou des déserts glacés à altitude élevée. De toutes parts, aussi, les hommes veillent jalousement sur son isolement et les pays que le voyageur doit traverser pour atteindre le territoire interdit de Lhassa, ne sont pas toujours très surs.

## La traversée du Yunnan

Nous quittons l'atmosphère étouffante et humide du Tonkin et nous nous élevons rapidement sur les flancs des montagnes de Chine dans l'autorail qui accomplit le trajet d'Hanoi à Yunnanfou en 27 heures. Dans la capitale du Yunnan, à 2000 mètres d'altitude, nous trouvons un climat de côte d'azur troublé seulement par quelques averses. Nous sommes au début de la saison des

\* Andre GUIBAUT et Louis LIOTARD sont restés absents de France du mois d'avril 1936 au mois d'août 1937. Charges de mission par le Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et patronnés par la Société de Géographie, l'Institut de Géographie de l'Université de Paris et le Musée d'Ethnographie (actuellement le Musée de l'Homme), leur but principal était d'effectuer une reconnaissance géographique des taches blanches de la carte, situées dans la région des confins de la Birmanie, de la Chine et du Tibet Oriental. Observations géographiques et photographiques de Louis LIOTARD.

[For a very brief resume of this expedition cf TP 33 295 298]

pluies. Débordant à peine de son enceinte crénelée, Yunnanfou est restée une très vieille ville chinoise. Malheureusement, la ville est en état d'alerte: il y a quelques jours une armée dissidente est venue camper à sept kilomètres des remparts. Poursuivie par des troupes régulières envoyées par le Gouvernement de Nankin, elle a fui vers l'Ouest par la route de Tali-fou que nous devons suivre pour continuer notre voyage. Pour protéger sa retraite elle a coupé tous les ponts derrière elle. Comme toujours, en Chine, les armées en campagne ont laissé des trainards qui se transforment aisément en pillards. Dans de telles conditions nous ne nous étonnons pas trop des difficultés que nous créent les autorités chinoises qui craignent pour notre sécurité.

Cependant, après avoir chargé toutes nos caisses sur un camion automobile nous quittons Yunnanfou. La route est dans un tel état que le lendemain au village de Tch'ou-hiung 楚雄, nous renonçons à la locomotion mécanique. Nous chargeons nos bagages sur des mulets de location et nous poursuivons notre voyage vers Tali-fou, non plus par la route automobile mais par la vieille piste caravanière. Quand nous franchissons le porche de la Mission des Pères de Bétharram, il y a quatorze jours que nous avons quitté Yunnanfou. Quand la route est en bon état il faut deux jours à une auto pour faire le même trajet!

Nous sommes à notre base d'opération. Le voyage n'est pas commencé et cependant il y a 82 jours que nous sommes partis de Marseille! Nous ne sommes pas au bout de nos peines. Les rebelles ont fui vers le Nord. Le Mandarin de Tali a des ordres pour nous empêcher de continuer par la route du Tibet. Il nous laisse le choix entre revenir à Yunnanfou ou bien partir par la route de Birmanie, de Tali à Bhamo. Nous n'hésitons pas; c'est cette dernière que nous allons prendre, nous réservant de la quitter quand nous en trouverons l'occasion. Le voyage va commencer.

Avec l'aide des missionnaires nous formons notre première caravane. Malgré leurs promesses, nous savons que les Chinois que nous engageons ne nous accompagneront pas pendant tout notre voyage. Ils redoutent trop les peuplades étrangères que nous allons trouver sur notre route. Notre interprète est un jeune

bomme qui a fait des études françaises: Vincent. Notre cuisinier, ou plutôt notre factotum, est un vieux coureur de piste qui porte le nom de HOANG. Trois "mafou"<sup>1</sup> s'occupent de nos bêtes: trois chevaux sellés et onze mulets pour porter notre matériel qui pèse environ 700 kilos. En plus de notre matériel de campement, des vêtements pour les pays tropicaux et pour les pays froids, nous avons encore une importante pharmacie qui nous permettra de répondre à toutes les demandes de médicaments dont nous serons assaillis. Pour nos achats nous avons un lot de pacotille: aiguilles, fil, étoffe, bameçons, miroirs etc. . . . et tout notre argent liquide a été converti en pièces d'argent chinoises. Nous ne sommes pas riches et pourtant notre fortune représente une charge entière de mulet. Bien entendu tout cela est réparti par petits lots dans les caisses pour éviter une perte totale. Pour nous éviter la tentation d'enfreindre les ordres des autorités chinoises, cinq soldats armés nous accompagnent.

### La route de Tali-fou à Bhamo

La route n'est qu'une de ces vieilles pistes qu'on désignait autrefois du nom pompeux de "routes impériales." Ce n'est qu'un étroit sentier où deux bêtes peuvent à peine se croiser et dont le vieux dallage a disparu par endroit laissant place à des fondrières où les bêtes enfoncent quelquefois jusqu'au cou. C'est pourtant une des routes les plus importantes de Chine.<sup>2</sup> Chaque jour nous franchissons des cols qui atteignent parfois 3000 mètres. A ce régime les bêtes sont vite harassées. A 160 kilomètres de Tali, nous franchissons le Mékong sur un très vieux pont de chaînes de fer, ancêtre de nos ponts suspendus. Le fleuve coule entre deux murailles à pic. Presque aussitôt après le passage nous persuadons à nos soldats qu'il est inutile de nous accompagner plus loin. Libres enfin, nous quittons la route de Birmanie et nous coupons à travers des régions peu connues et presque désertes, vers la

<sup>1</sup> muletiers

<sup>2</sup> Les Chinois ont essayé de la transformer en route automobilable mais le pays est tellement accidenté qu'ils ont dû y renoncer. Depuis le commencement des hostilités actuelles ils travaillent à la construction d'une grande route au sud de celle-ci, dans des contrées plus faciles.

Salouen Encore quatre jours de rude marche et nous atteignons ce fleuve C'est en remontant sa vallee que nous allons atteindre le Tibet

### La vallee de mort

Nous sommes par environ 25°35 de latitude Quand nous aurons atteint le 26<sup>eme</sup> parallele, nous serons dans l'inconnu Il y a la sur les cartes, une grande tache blanche appelee du nom des indigenes qui y vivent le pays lissou Toutes les tentatives faites pour le traverser ont echoue La derniere en date s'est meme terminee de facon tragique par le massacre en 1910 des deux explorateurs allemands BRUNHUBER et SCHWITZ Un geographe franais, M Jules SIOU a certit que " protegee a la fois par la fort et par la fievre, la vallee de la Salouen sera l'un des derniers refuges de la sauvagerie " Nous savons que tout recemment un mandarin chinois, ses soldats et ses serviteurs ont te massacres par les Lissou N'importe, c'est la seule voie d'accs qui s'offre a nous pour attendre le Tibet Nous allons remonter la vallee de la Salouen malgre le nom de " Vallee de Mort " que lui ont donne les Chinois Cette decision inquiete notre personnel Comme d'autre part nos betes sont tres fatiguees blessees par des chutes frequentes, j'entrevois le moment ou notre caravane va nous abandonner J'obtiens cependant un delai de quatre jour qui nous amene dans une petite localite appelee Loukou, ou regne un jeune prince Des le lendemain notre caravane repart vers Tali Vincent l'interprete de HOANG le cuisinier, encourages par l'appit du gain, consentent pendant a continuer Notre situation est embarrassante, il n'y a pas de porteurs et le prince est seul a posseder des mulets Grace a un cadeau important il met une caravane a notre disposition tout en nous prevenant qu'a une centaine de " lis " dans le nord les mulets ne pourront plus passer et que si nous voulons continuer il nous faudra marcher a pied et faire porter nos bagages par des indigenes " lissou "

En effet au village de Mahping nous transformons notre train de caravane Nous repartissons nos bagages en charges egales que 25 porteurs prendront sur leurs dos En trente deux jours d'une

\* *Gographie universelle* (Armand Colin)

\* Mesure chinoise 576 metres

marche coupée de quelques arrêts qui nous seront imposés par notre état de santé, nous allons remonter la vallée de la Salouen jusqu'à l'Himalaya. Nous réussirons finalement à traverser le pays lissou, mais ce sera aux prix d'énormes fatigues.

La vallée est profondément encaissée. Le fleuve coule à mille mètres d'altitude alors que les grandes chaînes de montagnes de la rive droite et de la rive gauche le surplombent presque avec leurs sommets de trois et quatre mille mètres. Les pentes sont vertigineuses et se terminent souvent par des murailles qui tombent verticalement dans le fleuve. Celui-ci n'est qu'un gros torrent écumeux, coupé de rapides nombreux. Ses eaux qui sont jaunâtres et opaques à l'époque des crues vont s'éclaircir et prendre une belle couleur émeraude vers la fin de l'automne, au fur et à mesure qu'elles baisseront. Le fond de cet abîme encombré de rochers et où s'entremêlent les lianes, les hautes herbes, est à peu près impraticable. Aucun animal supérieur ne peut y vivre. C'est le domaine des insectes et des reptiles. Nous trouvons des toiles de plusieurs mètres carrés de surface couvertes d'araignées monstrueuses. Quand notre petite troupe passe dans les broussailles, on entend le froissement si caractéristique provoqué par la fuite des serpents. Les moustiques pullulent. Un soir que je tentais d'écrire à la lueur d'une lampe à huile ils se jetèrent dans mes yeux en si grand nombre que je dus renoncer à travailler. Nous évitions d'ailleurs de camper au fond de la vallée—l'aurions nous voulu que nos porteurs s'y seraient refusés. Les Lissou redoutent cette région malsaine et préfèrent vivre sur les versants inclinés où ils n'ont pas à redouter les attaques du paludisme.

### Les Lissou

La peuplade lissou qui habite cette région inhumaine est probablement d'origine tibeto-birmannne. Mais comme pour tous les montagnards des confins de la Birmanie, de la Chine et du Tibet (les Lo-lo, les Loutze, les Mo-so, les Kioutze etc. . . ) il est très difficile d'établir leur origine certaine. On sait cependant qu'ils étaient répandus dans le Yunnan, au moment de la conquête chinoise. Ils semblent avoir toujours émigré vers le sud. Protégés par leurs hautes montagnes, ceux qui se sont installés dans la

vallée de la Salouen ont vécu jusqu'à nos jours dans une indépendance totale. Guerriers redoutables, ils ont à plusieurs reprises opprimé leurs voisins et sont souvent sortis de leur territoire pour aller au loin piller les populations agricoles. Depuis 1910 les Chinois tentent de les soumettre mais les faibles moyens dont disposent les fonctionnaires de la République du Milieu ne leur ont pas permis de les assimiler complètement. Les exactions que commettent parfois les rares commerçants qui viennent exercer un dangereux négoce dans la vallée poussent quelquefois les Lissou à se révolter. Quand nous sommes passés le sang venait encore de couler.

Cette indépendance de fait a permis aux Lissou de conserver leurs coutumes intactes. Aussi faut-il se hâter de les étudier avant qu'ils aient subi comme leurs voisins l'influence chinoise.

Ils construisent leurs villages dans la montagne entre trois et six ou sept cents mètres au dessus du fleuve, parfois sur un versant tellement incliné que l'homme a de la peine à tenir debout, parfois, quand ils le peuvent, sur un méplat.—Les villages ne sont jamais très importants—Les cases sont construites en petits troncs d'arbres, qui forment la charpente, et en bambou. Les parois sont faites en vannerie. Le toit est simplement recouvert de chaume. La maison est adossée à la montagne; pour rattraper la différence de niveau et pour que le plancher en soit horizontal, elle est posée sur pilotis. L'espace libre ainsi formé sous la maison sert d'étable. Quand il pleut, il monte à travers les bambous une épouvantable odeur de fumier. L'intérieur d'une case lissou est toujours le même. On y accède au moyen d'un escalier rudimentaire formé d'un tronc d'arbre à encoches pour poser les pieds. La porte est formée d'une seule planche attachée à un madrier par des liens de bambou. Il n'y a ni fenêtre, ni cheminée, de sorte qu'il y fait presque nuit et que l'atmosphère est rendue irrespirable par le foyer installé au milieu de la pièce. Le mobilier est à peu près inexistant. Quelques coffres de bois qui contiennent des épis de maïs, des poteries de terre et c'est tout. Au dessus du feu une claie en bambou pour le séchage des graines.

Les Lissou vivent par petites familles: le père, la mère et les enfants. Dès qu'un fils se marie il quitte la maison paternelle et

va construire sa case plus loin. A l'intérieur de chaque case la promiscuité est un peu répugnante. Le soir tout le monde se serre le plus près possible du feu étendu sur le parquet. Ils couchent dans leurs vêtements qu'ils n'enlèvent presque jamais. De sorte qu'ils sont très sales et couverts de vermine. Comme la déclivité du sol est telle qu'il nous est souvent impossible d'établir notre tente, nous couchons souvent dans les cases. Nous pouvons ainsi observer nos hôtes mais cela nous attire quelques ennuis. Nous nous apercevons un jour que nos lainages sont envahis par une armée de poux de corps. Désagréable surprise car cet insecte est le véhicule de beaucoup de maladies, notamment du typhus exanthématique. Heureusement un bon lavage et une exposition au soleil suffisent à nous débarrasser de ces parasites.

La nourriture des Lissou est des plus simples: ils font une sorte de pâte avec du maïs bouilli. Ils ne mangent de la viande que dans les grandes circonstances: fêtes, mariages etc. . . . Ils font alors une grande consommation d'un mauvais alcool qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes avec du riz ou du maïs. Ils s'enivrent et les rixes sont fréquentes. Nous trouvons souvent des visages qui conservent le souvenir de ces réjouissances sous forme de balafres et de cicatrices.

Malgré leur existence rudimentaire, les Lissou ont assez belle allure. Grands et secs, les membres longs et musclés, ils ont une grande aisance de mouvement qui les différencie de leurs voisins chinois aux gestes toujours un peu étriqués. Dans la région inexplorée leur type est resté pur. Les pommettes sont moins saillantes que celles des Mongols. Les yeux sont droits. Le nez est très souvent busqué. Ajoutons que leur teint rappelle un peu celui des Latins de la Méditerranée. Bref, on est forcé de reconnaître des caractères nettement européens, plus ou moins accentués suivant les individus.

Vivant toujours dans la montagne, leurs jambes sont prodigieusement musclées. Ils peuvent ainsi gravir avec facilité des pentes qui nous font reculer. C'est pour cette raison que certains voyageurs les ont comparés à de grands singes. Comme les anthropoïdes leurs pieds sont préhensifs; une des photos que nous avons exposées au Musée de l'Homme montre bien cette particularité.



Ils sont vêtus de chanvre, file, tisse et cousu par les femmes. Leurs têtes et leurs pieds sont nus. Leur coiffure est étrange : ils se rasent la partie antérieure du crâne et laissent pousser de toute leur longueur pour en faire une tresse, les cheveux qui restent.

Le Lissou ne quitte jamais sa case sans s'armer. Le plus souvent il suspend à son côté un sabre très long ou un coupe coupe. S'il doit voyager quelques heures il ne manque pas d'emporter aussi une arbalète. Un explorateur anglais, FORREST, qui avait tenté de traverser le pays Lissou en 1905 avec LYTTON<sup>5</sup> a écrit que cette région méritait d'être appelée le "pays des arbalétriers". On imagine difficilement un Lissou sans son arbalète. Dès leur enfance les jeunes gens s'exercent sur de toutes petites armes. Ils arrivent à une adresse prodigieuse. Un oiseau de la grosseur d'un moineau est abattu à trente mètres. La force de pénétration de la petite flèche en bambou est effrayante. Pour la chasse ou pour la guerre l'extrémité de la flèche est empoisonnée avec des produits provenant de racines de plantes sauvages. Une incision faite à quelques centimètres de la pointe facilite la rupture de la flèche, à l'intérieur du corps de la victime. La mort vient très rapidement. Il existe encore une arbalète spéciale à la guerre. La corde atteint 1 m 80. C'est une arme terrible. Mais leurs adversaires chinois employant à présent des armes à feu, elle tend à disparaître, de même qu'il est rare de rencontrer ces étranges armures faites d'une peau entière de bœuf que les Lissou employaient autrefois pour se protéger des flèches de leurs ennemis.

L'équipement du Lissou est complet par un carquois en peau de bête qui contient trois tubes de bambou : un tube pour les flèches en fabrication, un second pour les flèches achevées et le troisième pour les flèches qui ont déjà reçu le poison. Il porte aussi un sac en peau de singe ou en toile de chanvre orné de cauris. Ce sac contient quelques vivres, sa provision de tabac, son briquet à percussion dont l'amadou est fourni par la fleur d'une plante qu'on trouve partout et en grande abondance dans ces montagnes des abords du Tibet : l'edelweiss. Quant à sa longue pipe au tuyau fourni par un bambou très fin, le Lissou la porte

<sup>5</sup> LYTTON est mort peu de temps après ce voyage qui avait été particulièrement pénible.

piquee soit dans sa ceinture, soit dans le col de son vêtement, soit dans sa tresse Le tabac est pour lui une necessite peut être plus imperieuse que la nourriture ou la boisson L'enfant commence souvent a fumer a dix ans La femme lissou fume autant que l'homme Par contre les Lissou ont horreur de l'opium, qu'ils pourraient cultiver facilement dans leurs montagnes Ils se bornent d'ailleurs a cultiver le maïs necessaire a leur alimentation et quelques cereales Mais ils preferent la chasse a la culture dont les femmes accomplissent presque tous les travaux Les forets qui dominent leurs villages et qui montent jusqu'a 4,000 metres, sont assez riches en gibier daim, chevre sauvage On y rencontre aussi, tres difficilement car dans un pays si accidenté la chasse demande des qualites physiques enormes, quelques fauves pantheres, ours Ils chassent aussi le singe pour sa viande et sa fourrure ainsi qu'un curieux animal appele l'ecureuil volant parce que ses pattes sont reliees par une fine membrane qui lui permet de planer de branches en branches

La condition de la femme lissou est plus satisfaisante que celle de la femme chinoise Elle vit avec son mari sur un pied d'egalite Elle conserve ainsi une desinvolture qui etonne le voyageur habitue a la reserve un peu honteuse des femmes de Chine Elle porte une longue jupe plissee qui ressemble etonnamment a celles des Gitanes d'Europe La femme lissou a un goût tres prononce pour la parure Elle porte de nombreux colliers de fausses perles, de cauris, d'herbes finement tressees et, comme l'homme d'ailleurs, des boucles d'oreille de corail Elle a toujours les pieds nus

Cette population guerriere qui devait aux dires des dermiers Chinois que nous avons rencontres, nous massacrer impitoyablement, nous a accueillis avec plus d'inquietude que d'hostilite Nous nous sommes efforces surtout de dissiper cette vague terreur que nous produisions Il suffisait souvent de quelques sourires, d'un cadeau a un enfant, pour mettre en confiance toute la population d'un village Le chef se presentait alors avec des offrandes qu'il nous remettait en se prosternant a genoux et en frappant le sol a plusieurs reprises avec son front, elles consistaient en un vase de bambou contenant de l'alcool et en maïs, quelquefois une poule ou un coq Nous le recompensions alors

par quelque cadeau qu'il acceptait après de longues protestations. Quelques fois nous tombions dans des villages moins hospitaliers. Les habitants nous affirmaient avec le plus grand sang-froid qu'il n'y avait pas de poules, ni d'œufs—alors que des volailles courraient partout autour de nous. Il fallait élever un peu la voix pour trouver des aliments.

Deux fois il nous est arrivé de tirer des coups de feu dans la nuit à la demande de nos domestiques chinois qui avaient constaté des mouvements inquiétants autour de notre campement.

Cependant malgré la sympathie que nous n'avons pas tardé à éprouver pour ces hommes rudes, nous pensions quelquefois au sort tragique de nos prédécesseurs. Nous avons trouvé un jour un petit village appelé Labou. Là, sur le bord de la Salouen, il y a vingt-sept ans, BRUNHUBER et SCHMITZ ont été massacrés. Quelques jours plus tard, en souvenir de leur sacrifice, nous baptisâmes de leurs noms un pic majestueux qui domine la Salouen.

Quelquefois nous rencontrons d'étranges tombes: au-dessus des pierres plates qui recouvrent la fosse s'élève un poteau qui supporte une sorte de toit—au poteau sont accrochés les objets familiers du mort, son arbalète, son sac avec sa pipe et son briquet. Une petite quantité d'alcool et une poignée de riz sont placés dans un vase de terre devant la tombe. Personne n'oserait toucher aux objets ainsi exposés.

Un minuscule sentier remonte toute la vallée à travers le pays lissou. Il a été tracé par les indigènes mais convient mal aux chausures cloutées des Européens. Les Lissou sont des grimpeurs intrépides qui évitent le plus possible de contourner les obstacles préférant les escalader. La route que nous suivons n'est donc qu'une succession d'obstacles: montées épuisantes, escaliers de rochers, cheminées etc. . . . Quelquefois nous circulons sur des ponts de bambou suspendus par des lianes au dessus du vide. Cette marche très fatigante, dans un climat pénible, ne tarde pas à nous déprimer. Partis très pauvres, nous avons décidé de ne pas nous charger de conserves et de vivre sur le pays. Malheureusement le ravitaillement est très difficile et nous maigrissons à vue d'œil. Des blessures provoquées par des plantes vénéneuses

nous rongent les jambes. Notre situation est critique. Nous prenons de temps en temps un jour de repos. Heureusement, à mesure que nous montons vers le Nord et que l'hiver approche le climat se fait plus sec et plus sain. Déjà les sommets voisins se couvrent de neige. Nous approchons de l'Himalaya. Encore quelques jours de marche et nous quitterons le pays lissou que nous venons d'explorer pour pénétrer dans une région plus connue appelée le Loutsekiang où nous trouverons trois missionnaires français. Et, un soir que nous remontons le vallon du Doyong, petit affluent de la Salouen, nous apercevons à 2500 mètres dans la montagne, une construction blanche surmontée d'une croix : La Mission de Babang.

Notre état de santé nous interdit de reprendre la route immédiatement. De plus nous sommes au mois de décembre. Le moment serait mal choisi pour pénétrer au Tibet. Les cols sont à présent infranchissables. Quelques jours après notre arrivée deux hommes ont pu franchir la haute chaîne de montagnes qui sépare la Salouen du Mékong pour nous apporter des nouvelles, notre premier courrier. Derrière eux la neige est tombée et la montagne s'est fermée. Pendant cinq mois chaque année les missionnaires qui vivent dans le Loutsekiang restent complètement isolés du monde. Nous allons hiverner avec eux.

Le terme géographique Loutsekiang désigne la portion de territoire de la Vallée de la Salouen situé entre le Tibet, délimité par l'Himalaya, et le pays lissou dont on peut fixer la limite au village de Latsa. Il est habité par la tribu des Loutse. Cette population paisible dont l'origine est aussi difficile à établir que celle des Lissou a subi fortement l'influence de ses voisins qui ne se sont pas fait faute de l'opprimer. Dans le sud ses mœurs sont à peu près semblables à celles des Lissou. Dans le nord l'influence tibétaine est prépondérante. Actuellement les Chinois ont établi des fonctionnaires dont l'autorité n'est plus contestée ni par les intéressés, ni par leurs redoutables voisins.

Depuis une quarantaine d'années les missionnaires français de la Société des Missions Etrangères se sont installés dans cette région lointaine. Ils ont même créé des postes en plein Tibet, dans

la province toute proche du Tsarong mais ils ont dû les abandonner à la suite d'une guerre sanglante comme il s'en produit assez souvent dans ces régions des marches tibétaines. Une mission a été installée dans le Loutsekiang, à Tchrongteu, à quatre kilomètres de la lamasserie de Cbamoutong. Cet établissement lamaïque qui en 1894 était assez puissant pour donner des inquiétudes au Prince Henri d'Orléans lorsqu'il a traversé la région pour se rendre aux Indes dans son très beau voyage d'exploration, a perdu beaucoup de son importance; elle a été ruinée par les guerres. Devant son temple reconstruit à la chinoise on voit encore les pans de murs noircis par l'incendie, de l'ancien bâtiment tibétain.

L'hivernage se poursuit en compagnie de trois pères. La neige tombe souvent pendant des jours entiers et il fait un peu froid dans cette maison de bois où l'air pénètre par mille ouvertures. Nous oublions les pays tropicaux. Nos forces reviennent et nos plaies se cicatrisent. Nous pourrions bientôt repartir. Déjà nous étudions l'itinéraire que nous allons suivre. Malheureusement nous ne pourrions pas aller très loin. Malgré nos gros sacrifices, dont le plus grave a été de ne pas emporter de vivres, notre petite fortune a fondu. Il ne nous reste plus que quelques pièces d'argent et un petit lot de pacotille. Nous ne pouvons songer à organiser une caravane complète. Nous allons donc laisser la plus grande partie de nos bagages à Bahang à la garde des pères qui les achemineront ensuite, dès que les cols s'ouvriront, dans la vallée du Mékong où nous les retrouverons à notre retour du Tibet. Nous laissons, entre autres choses, tous nos vêtements pour les pays tropicaux, notre tente et nos lits de camp. Désormais nous coucherons par terre, en plein air. Nous abandonnons aussi, avec *quelques regrets, une partie de nos instruments: sextants, horizons* artificiels; ils ne nous sont plus d'aucune utilité, car malheureusement depuis notre arrivée à Babang nous avons perdu l'"*beure*" que nous conservions précieusement depuis notre départ de Yunnanfou où nous avons reçu les derniers "*top*." Nos chronomètres ont été tellement secoués, les caisses qui les contenaient ont si souvent roulé dans des ravins avec nos mulets, qu'ils sont à présent hors d'usage. Nous ne pourrions plus faire d'observations astronomiques. Nous nous en consolons cependant en pensant

que la province du Tsarong que nous allons traverser a déjà été parcourue par plusieurs voyageurs dont un très grand explorateur français, Jacques BACOT qui en a rapporté un des plus beaux récits de voyage qui existent *Le Tibet révolte* L'itinéraire qu'il a tracé est excellent, nous ne saurions faire mieux

Mais pour atteindre le Tibet, nous allons passer par une voie absolument nouvelle La route habituelle, celle des caravanes, escalade les derniers contreforts de l'Himalaya par un col de plus de 4000 mètres, appelé le Solonla Il est actuellement, nous sommes au mois de février, bloqué par la neige Ce serait folie d'entreprendre le passage Nous apprenons qu'il existe un abominable sentier, appelé route des rochers ou aussi route du sel, et qui est praticable en hiver C'est par cette route encore inexplorée que nous allons franchir les formidables contreforts montagneux qui nous séparent encore du territoire interdit

### Les gorges de Kheumiaton

Contrairement à ce que croient beaucoup de gens, l'Himalaya est loin de se présenter comme une barrière continue, quelque chose de semblable à une immense chaîne des Pyrénées Le simple examen d'une carte permet de voir qu'il n'en est rien Tout au contraire, la chaîne est coupée en de nombreux endroits par des fleuves et des rivières qui prennent leur source au Tibet et sont obligés de la franchir pour atteindre les basses plaines de l'Asie des Moussons La pente de ces cours d'eau qui doivent sur quelques centaines de kilomètres passer de 4000 à 5000 mètres d'altitude à 300 ou 400 mètres seulement, est très rapide Leur puissance de creusement est formidable Aussi traversent-ils l'Himalaya au fond de gorges, de canyons, qui sont de véritables abîmes Jacques BACOT qui a longé le Salouen sur le flanc de la montagne, par le col du Solonla, a écrit " Nous passons par dessus une seconde chaîne de l'Himalaya Le Salouen l'a défoncée, coupée, ouvrant un abîme qu'on devine à notre droite, à travers la forêt Parfois des éclaircies découvrent un grand vide dont jamais on ne voit le fond " Le sentier des rochers passe au fond de ce gouffre Il a été établi par les Loutse pour pouvoir aller

chercher leur sel au Tibet au moment ou, en biver, le passage par la montagne est impossible D'ou son nom de route du sel

Nous allons être les premiers a explorer la gorge Un jeune missionnaire de Babang, le Pere BURDIN demande a nous accompagner Nous acceptons avec joie la compagnie de ce courageux montagnard originaire de la Haute Maurienne Notre caravane ne comprend que cinq porteurs tibeto loutse et un guide tibetain nomme TCHRACHY Nos Chinois, Vincent et Hoang, qui ont peur des Tibetains, se sont envolés Avant le depart, TCHRACHY nous dit " On ne passe pas par la route des rochers quand il pleut " Nous attendons deux jours a l'entree des gorges, au village de Kheumiaton que le temps se mette au beau Enfin par un temps splendide nous faisons nos adieux a un brave missionnaire chinois qui nous a donne l'hospitalite Il est un peu inquiet " Surtout, nous dit il, ne tuez pas de vautours " Cet animal est sacre au Tibet et le voyageur qui s'aviserait de l'abattre s'exposerait a de gros ennuis

Nous franchissons un raidillon et brusquement l'entree des gorges se revele a nous Nous dominons le fleuve d'environ 800 metres et cependant c'est a peine si nous pouvons l'apercevoir, tellement son cours est encaisse En face de nous, la rive droite est un veritable a pic couronne de sommets neigeux Le lit du fleuve est a environ 1700 metres d'altitude, ces sommets sont a 5000 metres, et pourtant, a vol d'oiseau, c'est a peine si la distance atteint deux kilometres Proteges par leur escarpement contre la main de l'homme, ces versants sont encore couverts de forets L'homme ici, n'est qu'un passant Personne n'oserait sejourner dans cet abime

De suite la route est penible Nous marchons sur le versant rive gauche dont la courbure convexe nous gêne beaucoup Le sentier est si peu marque que nous le perdons souvent Il faut la grande experience de notre guide pour le retrouver Nous franchissons avec precautions d'immenses eboulements, de veritables cascades de terre et de rochers, figees dans une immobilite provisoire, entre deux catastrophes Des troncs d'arbres en emergent comme des pommes de mats d'un navire englouti Des pans de roc grands comme des maisons semblent attendre le nouveau glissement qui les precipitera plus bas

Nous trouvons bientôt des murailles verticales qui surplombent presque le fleuve de leur 400 ou 500 metres Il n'y a plus de sentier Agrippes a des troncs d'arbres entaillés d'encoches, nous franchissons ces obstacles Ces échelles improvisées sont glissantes couvertes de mousse, vermoulues, plus qu'à demi pourries quel quefois Je comprends alors l'avertissement de notre guide Je ne puis m'empêcher de penser que si l'un de nous se cassait une jambe il serait bien difficile de le transporter, mais je me console à l'idée qu'une chute serait sûrement mortelle

Nos porteurs sont admirables Avec leurs charges sur le dos ils ressemblent à d'énormes scarabées sur des troncs d'arbres pourris Leurs pieds nus, aux orteils prehensifs, épousent la forme des marches Nos grosses chaussures cloutées ne sont pas faites pour cet exercice, aussi pour éviter un accident allons nous très lentement

Nous campons le premier soir à une trentaine de metres au dessus du fleuve dont le grondement monte jusqu'à nous Nuit merveilleuse! Nous couchons par terre, sans tente, auprès d'un grand feu

Le lendemain notre sentier nous amène au fond de la gorge Nous cheminons péniblement dans le lit même du fleuve dont les eaux sont basses, parmi les rochers aux formes tourmentées Nous sommes dans le chantier du géant C'est ici que le fleuve d'émcrande travaille Dans quelques semaines il va s'enfler, ses eaux vont jauner et monter de sept ou huit metres On ne pourra plus alors passer par la route du sel et pendant tout l'été, la Salouen continuera dans la solitude à scier l'Himalaya

Et des échelles, encore des échelles! Dans les trois jours et demi que nous passons dans cette gorge, nous en comptons quarante sept Quelques unes sont placées de façon particulièrement dangereuse

Bien entendu nous ne distinguons rien des sommets qui dominent à droite et à gauche ce gouffre si profond que la lumière du jour n'y brille pas de tout son éclat Dans un tel chaos l'homme est si peu à l'échelle du paysage qu'il ne peut jamais l'embrasser entièrement du regard Seul le survol en avion lui permettra d'avoir une vue complète de ce gouffre



Le fond de la gorge est encombré d'une masse énorme de végétaux en décomposition. A certains endroits on enfonce jusqu'à mi-corps dans cet humus qui dégage une odeur malsaine de mort végétale. Les plantes qui poussent là ont un aspect inquiétant. Nous trouvons sur des troncs d'arbres vivants des plantes parasitaires à longues feuilles qui font penser à des bêtes malfaisantes. La fatigue aidant nous arrivons à ressentir de façon pénible l'angoissante oppression des murailles qui nous enferment.

Après avoir changé deux fois de rive dans des biefs tranquilles, au moyen de pirogues creusées dans des troncs d'arbres, nous arrivons le quatrième jour en vue d'un petit village aux toits en terrasses où des indigènes étonnamment sales et hirsutes nous reçoivent avec stupéfaction et inquiétude. Nous avons franchi la gorge. Nous sommes à Songtha, sur le sol du Tibet, dans la province du Tsarong qui dépend administrativement du royaume de Lhassa. Cependant ces gens qui n'osent pas nous refuser l'accès du territoire interdit ne sont pas encore des tibétains, mais des Loutse. Ils craignent la colère du "Chinglo" le chef tibétain qui réside à quelques jours au Nord, à Ménkong.

Nous allons nous reposer un jour à Songtha puis nous tenterons de continuer notre route à travers le Tsarong. Le Père BURDN repart vers Bahang. Il a trouvé une pirogue qui va lui permettre de faire une partie du trajet sur la rivière. Nous apprendrons beaucoup plus tard avec stupéfaction, qu'il a accompli une véritable performance en atteignant le soir même le petit village de Kheuniaton.

### A pied sur les pistes tibétaines

Nous pensions trouver des chevaux ou des mulets dès notre arrivée au Tsarong. Les Loutse de Songtha sont trop misérables pour posséder des bêtes aussi coûteuses. De plus ce sont des sédentaires dont la principale occupation est la fabrication des ponts de corde dont j'aurai l'occasion de reparler au cours de mon récit. Nous allons donc être obligés de continuer notre voyage à pied.

La dernière nuit que nous passons à Songtha est hallucinante. Pour nous honorer, nos hôtes nous ont installés sur la terrasse qui

sert de toiture à la maison. Le vent souffle et il fait un peu froid, mais telle est la saleté de l'intérieur de cette maison loutse que nous préférons souffrir un peu des intempéries. Toute la journée une cérémonie religieuse s'est déroulée dans une maison voisine. Les coups de gong ou de tambour ont résonné sur des rythmes divers : tantôt des coups espacés, tantôt un battement rapide qui allait en s'accéléralant. Nous allons jusqu'à la maison d'où s'exhale ce bruit, monotone comme un tambour africain. Une dizaine de personnes sont réunies dans la salle commune. Ces gens là sont repoussants de saleté. Comme les hommes et les femmes laissent pousser leurs cheveux et ne les soumettent à la discipline d'aucune coiffure, il est difficile de les reconnaître les uns des autres. Dans un coin le chef du village est accroupi et récite des prières larmoyantes d'une voix qui semble, comme lui même, sortir d'un sépulcre. Il ne s'arrête jamais pour reprendre haleine et arrive presque à l'étouffement. D'un geste, sans interrompre sa litanie, il nous fait signe de nous asseoir. En face de lui un homme et un enfant accroupis sur le sol tiennent les cordes de deux tambours suspendus aux poutres du plafond. Ils frappent sur la peau sonore avec un bizarre instrument recourbé en forme de faucille. Les rythmes variés obéissent à des règles que nous ne comprenons pas. L'enfant tombe de sommeil, ses yeux restent fixes sur le chef au prix d'un visible effort de volonté. Quand son compagnon ne frappe pas, sa main droite vient reposer sur son genou agité d'un tremblement nerveux. Une jeune femme qu'on devine presque jolie sous sa couche de crasse, nous apporte des tasses de bois pleines d'une sorte de bière chaude faite avec de l'orge. Nos voisins qui boivent aussi et sont visiblement en état d'ébriété, trempent légèrement leurs doigts dans leurs tasses et aspergent les officiants, ils jettent aussi quelques gouttes de liquide sur une sorte d'autel situé contre le mur devant le foyer : trois pierres qui supportent un disque en ardoise, parfaitement rond, devant lequel brûlent quelques morceaux de bois résineux.

Dans la nuit, alors que nous nous sommes depuis longtemps retirés sur notre terrasse, le bruit de la cérémonie nous bardele. Un peu avant le jour elle cesse brusquement et les invités se retirent dans un grand bruit de conversations et de rires. Je me

penche pour les voir défilér dans la ruelle. Les flammes des flambeaux agitent de façon grotesque les ombres de ces spectres hilares et plus qu'à demi ivres. Les sorcières de Macbeth devaient avoir cet aspect repoussant et comme eux, devaient être entourées de chiens hurlant de peur.

Dès notre départ de Songtha le paysage change. Notre route s'élève dans des montagnes désertes. La longue houle immobile des monts tibétains nous apparaît surmontée de pics neigeux, de glaces éternelles. La Salouen se fait toute petite au fond de sa gorge. Ce n'est plus déjà le grand fleuve impétueux que nous avons connu. Sa pente est moins forte, ses rapides moins violents et elle est réduite aux proportions d'une grosse rivière. A mesure que nous montons dans le Nord, les pentes se dessèchent, perdent leur végétation, deviennent arides. Nous marchons sur un sol rocailleux, au milieu de débris de schistes ardoisiers.

Le deuxième jour après notre départ de Songtha, nous nous trouvons nez à nez avec un jeune chef tibétain. Quoique prévue, la rencontre est désagréable. Allons nous être refoulés dès nos premiers pas sur la terre tibétaine? C'est à peine s'il nous accorde un regard juste suffisant pour s'assurer que nous sommes bien les "pilins" (étrangers) dont la présence scandaleuse sur le sol du Tsarong lui a été signalée et aussitôt, sans descendre de cheval, il engage avec notre guide une conversation animée d'où il ressort que nous devons rebrousser chemin immédiatement. Nous sommes assez familiarisés avec les extrême-orientaux pour savoir, comme nous le disait un éminent diplomate français, que "oui" ne veut jamais dire tout à fait "oui," mais que "non" par contre, ne veut jamais dire tout à fait "non." Nous entreprenons alors de le convaincre. Ce n'est pas facile: nous voudrions obtenir de passer par le col du Choula situé à quelques jours dans le Nord. Il n'y a rien à faire. Nous sentons que notre interlocuteur devient menaçant. Tchrachy très inquiet nous fait des signes mystérieux. Il a peut-être son idée. Le mieux est de le laisser faire. Après une beure de discussion il obtient l'autorisation de passer par un autre col appelé le Dokerla. Par une mimique expressive, le chef qui consent à cette occasion à se tourner vers nous, nous fait comprendre que si nous dépassons le point qu'il nous a fixé, ses soldats

nous rechercheront et n'hésiteront pas à nous tirer dessus. Notre surprise est grande, car nous savons qu'en cette saison, il est tout à fait impossible de passer par le Dokerla. Ce jeune seigneur veut-il nous lancer dans quelque aventure hasardeuse dont nous ne sortirons pas vivants, ou bien a-t-il trouvé un moyen poli de nous faire revenir en arrière? N'importe, une seule chose compte pour nous, nous allons pouvoir continuer notre route. Sans un salut, sans un regard, le jeune chef pousse sa bête et disparaît dans le sud.

Le lendemain nous atteignons Lakonra, point extrême que nous ne devons pas dépasser, situé au confluent du torrent qui descend du Dokerla. La vallée est ici toute droite et déserte comme une rue de lotissement. Pas de village, il n'y a pour toutes constructions qu'un temple lamaïque et une petite maison qui abrite le gardien, sa femme et sa mère. Au lieu de nous diriger vers le col, nous nous installons dans le temple sur les conseils de notre guide. Nous allons y séjourner quelques jours pour y attendre l'événement heureux qui nous permettra de continuer notre route. Il serait fou d'enfreindre délibérément les ordres du chef.

Si jusqu'ici nous n'avons pas à nous louer des autorités tibétaines, par contre les gens du peuple sont charmants. Nous rencontrons à Lakrona une troupe de danseurs professionnels, leurs bagages sur le dos et accompagnés d'un petit âne lourdement chargé. Leur surprise est très grande mais se change presque aussitôt en une sorte de joie qui se manifeste de façon un peu enfantine. Ils nous saluent en tirant rapidement leur langue ce qui est très respectueux au Tibet.

Le Temple du Bouddha futur est placé sur un promontoir qui domine le fleuve. C'est un bâtiment rectangulaire en pierre flanqué d'un "Kheurtén," énorme stupa bouddhique soutenue et protégée par des charpentes et des toits. Il est dédié à Maitreya, le Bouddha futur, connu au Tibet sous le nom de Thampé [Byams pa]. D'après une tradition très répandue, le Bouddha futur qui doit venir sur la terre pour achever la victoire du bouddhisme sur les autres religions, se reincarnera dans le corps d'un homme d'Occident, d'un blanc. Aussi est-il représenté par

une énorme statue de stuc peinte en blanc. Au lieu d'être accroupi à l'indienne sur une fleur de lotus comme le sont habituellement les divinités lamaïques, il est assis à l'européenne sur un trône.

Tout autour du temple sont accumulées en tas énormes des pierres qui portent gravées en belles lettres élégantes, l'inscription sacrée "Om mani padme houm." Ces pierres ont été apportées, quelques-unes de très loin, par des pèlerins. Nous sommes en effet à une des stations du plus grand pèlerinage du Tibet Oriental, celui de la montagne sacrée du Khaouakarpo. Malgré la sainteté du lieu, nous nous installons dans le temple. Nos domestiques font la cuisine sous le "kheurten" au milieu des moulins à prières, dont les vieux papiers risquent à chaque instants de s'enflammer. Personne parmi les nombreux voyageurs qui défilent chaque jour, ne s'avise de trouver sacrilège notre présence chez les dieux. En Asie les maisons des divinités servent d'auberges. En Chine par exemple, il nous arrivait très souvent de coucher dans des pagodes.

Nous logeons dans le vestibule du temple dans un nuage de ce merveilleux encens du Tibet. Nos nouveaux voisins sont charmants. Quelques cadeaux ont vite fait de les apprivoiser et ils s'enhardissent à venir examiner nos affaires. Ils le font d'ailleurs avec une discrétion que pourraient leur envier les Chinois. L'homme, le sacristain, s'exerce chaque jour à tirer avec un fusil à mèche qui fait un bruit épouvantable. Deux fois par jour sa jeune femme, gaie et souriante, vient s'occuper des divinités. Elle ouvre les deux énormes serrures du sanctuaire, et change l'eau de douze petits vases de cuivre qui se trouvent sur l'autel; puis elle apporte sur une pelle un peu de braise qu'elle verse avec de l'encens dans le brûle-parfum. Le soir, elle allume la lampe veilleuse et trace au-dessus d'elle un cercle de feu avec un bâton enflammé. Avant de se retirer elle se prosterne six fois.

Il y a trois jours que nous sommes à Lakonra lorsque notre guide nous amène un groupe de Tibétains. A leur tête se trouve un jeune seigneur de grande allure. Son beau visage allongé et bruni par les intempéries est encadré d'une belle chevelure noire, soigneusement nattée, dont la tresse est prolongée par un cordon rouge terminé par un gland. A la mode tibétaine, cette tresse entoure la coiffe de son chapeau de feutre, fourré à l'intérieur,

flancs de ces vaillantes betes se dilatent a grands coups. Leur endurance est prodigieuse.

Vers 3000 metres nous trouvons quelques pins et des forets de melèzes. A mesure que nous montons les arbres se rabougrissent, leurs troncs deviennent noueux contorsionnés et leurs branches ne portent plus qu'un maigre feuillage. A 4500 metres il n'y a plus que quelques rhododendrons. Au dessus, la vegetation disparaît, nous sommes dans la region desolée des sommets.

Nous campons ce soir la a 4600 metres. Il fait tres froid. Couches tout habillés dans nos sacs de couchage en duvet recouverts de toutes nos couvertures, nous grelottons. L'altitude aussi nous gêne. Dans la nuit, sentant mon nez se geler par l'imprudence de mettre la tete sous une couverture, aussitôt j'en suis pris d'étouffements.

A six heures le lendemain nous nous mettons en route. Il nous reste encore 400 metres a grimper. Nous les escaladons lentement, en silence, attentifs a éviter le moindre effort inutile.

L'arête de la montagne est balayée par un vent terrible. Pour fixer la vue magnifique que nous découvrons du haut de nos 5000 metres LIOTARD enlève ses gants pour mieux manier son Leica. Il doit les remettre presque aussitôt tant la douleur est vive.

Un extraordinaire panorama de montagnes s'offre a nous. Quelques uns des sommets que nous distinguons doivent dépasser 6000 metres.

Sans un regard pour le paysage les Tibétains devaient rapidement la pente. Seul le chef et un de ses aides s'attardent au sommet pour procéder a la cérémonie rituelle du passage des cols. Dans un autel formé de quelques pierres plates installé a demeure sur l'arête, ils allument un feu. Tête nue, sa longue tresse noire claquant au vent, le Chef tend au dessus de la flamme des branches vertes de genévrier qu'il n'a fait cueillir deux jours avant. Dans la vallée, il reprend de la poudre d'encens et recite des prières. Puis tirant son sabre, il le tend vers tous les points de l'horizon en poussant des incantations a pleine voix. Il termine la cérémonie en plantant des bannières de prières a côté de celles laissées par les caravanes précédentes.

Le lendemain nous atteignons le Mekong. Nous ne pouvons

faire transporter! Malgré cela le voyage sera rude car nous devons souvent descendre pour franchir des passages difficiles. Nous nous habituons très vite à cette vie nomade et nous avons bientôt l'impression que nous avons toujours vécu ainsi.

Le matin, avant le jour, les muletiers se lèvent, activent les feux du campement et appellent les bêtes qui sont laissées en liberté pendant la nuit. Suivant l'altitude (nous couchons quelquefois à plus de 3000 mètres) il fait plus ou moins froid, mais comme l'air est très sec nous ne souffrons pas de coucher dehors, étendus sur le roc, à moins qu'il n'y ait du vent, ce qui est assez fréquent. Nous ne sortons de notre sac de couchage que lorsque le thé beurré est versé tout fumant dans les tasses de bois. Pour faire le thé beurré les Tibétains font une infusion légère avec un morceau détaché d'une boule de thé comprimé à la machine pour tenir moins de place. Ils versent cette infusion dans une baratte en bois; ils ajoutent un morceau de beurre et une poignée de sel, puis ils barattent le tout énergiquement de manière à obtenir un liquide onctueux dont le goût n'est pas désagréable. Je ne connais rien de mieux pour lutter contre le froid et contre la fatigue. Nos compagnons en boivent facilement cinquante ou soixante tasses par jour. C'est là d'ailleurs leur véritable aliment. Nous nous contentons d'en prendre vingt à vingt-cinq tasses, mais très vite cela nous devient indispensable.

Le soir nous campons en plein air. Les charges, les barnais sont empilés pour former une sorte de mur bas au pied duquel nous couchons et qui nous abrite un peu du vent.

Le profil de notre route est des plus accidentés. Les cols s'élèvent presque tous à 4000 mètres, alors que le fond des vallées dépasse à peine 2000. Nous montons et descendons sans cesse.

Enfin nous atteignons les abords du col du Cboula dont l'accès nous avait été formellement interdit, sans avoir été gênés par les Tibétains. Ougbya, notre jeune chef avec qui nous sommes à présent liés d'amitié, ne nous a pas trompés.

Le sentier qui mène au col s'élève presque à la verticale par une série de petits lacets. La pente est extrêmement prononcée. Nos mulets avancent par saccades et franchissent une vingtaine de mètres presque au galop, puis s'arrêtent pour souffler. Les

brodé d'or à l'extérieur. Il est vêtu d'une sorte de justaucorps gris et d'un pantalon serré qui s'enfonce dans des bottes de drap ornées de petites croix rouges. Par dessus il porte une grande "tcbouba," sorte de grand manteau de bure, si long que les Tibétains sont obligés de le relever à la taille en formant d'énormes bourrelets qui leur servent à mettre les objets qui ne les quittent jamais: tasse de bois, briquet, livre de prières etc. . . . Une seule manche est passée au bras, l'autre d'une longueur demesurée pend sur le côté. Il porte fixé sur la hanche par un cordon un gros reliquaire d'argent appelé "gaou," et sur le ventre un sabre court dont le fourreau est orné de pierreries.

Malgré notre présence étonnante en ce lieu, il n'oublie pas ses devoirs religieux. On a ouvert toutes grandes pour lui les portes du sanctuaire. Avant d'y pénétrer, il déroule sa longue tresse avec une grace qui tout en étant presque féminine n'arrive pas à être efféminée; il enlève son chapeau, retire lentement son sabre et le pose sur les marches du temple. Puis suivi de ses hommes il s'enfonce dans la pénombre où s'agitent, éclairées confusément par des lampes à beurre, les divinités grimaçantes. Lorsque le son de la conque marine, plein d'une infinie tristesse, a retenti plusieurs fois, la cérémonie est terminée. Nous faisons alors connaissance.

Oughya, tel est son nom, est un des jeunes chefs de la province. Plus bienveillant, ou mieux avisé que son collègue, il nous offre de nous prendre pour quelques jours dans sa caravane qui se dirige vers ce col du Choula qui nous a été interdit et il en prend la responsabilité. En échange, est-il utile de le dire, nous lui faisons un cadeau. Tcbrachy, notre guide, a bien mérité de la Mission!

### Sur les routes du Tibet

Nos nouveaux compagnons sont impressionnants avec leurs fusils, leurs sabres, leurs poignards. Ils conduisent une trentaine de mulets chargés de "Pei-mou," sorte de liliacée dont les bulbes sont très employés dans la pharmacopée chinoise. Le chef consent à dégarnir deux bêtes qui nous seront réservées. Malheureusement il n'a pas de selle et nous devons nous installer tant bien que mal sur des bâts en bois. N'importe, nous allons pouvoir enfin nous



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songer à aller plus loin car nos ressources sont épuisées. Avec un peu de tristesse nous prenons la route du sud, la route de Tali.

Pour atteindre Atuntze où nous allons retrouver les premiers Chinois, nous traversons le Mékong au pont de corde de Horcli. Les câbles de bambou sont tendus d'une rive à l'autre devant le petit village aux terrasses ornées de svastikas, la croix gammée du national socialisme qui est ici un des vieux symboles de l'humanité.

Fixés à des glissières de bois, les charges, les mulets, glissent les uns après les autres vers l'autre rive. Nous passons après la caravane avec un léger serrement de cœur. Cette acrobatie au-dessus d'un fleuve torrentueux est toujours un peu impressionnante.

Maintenant nous allons voyager en pays connu. Encore 23 jours de caravane, deux jours de camion automobile et nous atteindrons Yunnanfou. Notre route est jalonnée de missions où partout nous sommes accueillis par les braves pères avec une cordialité inoubliable. A Tsedjrong nous trouvons le Père GORÉ qui a édifié dans ses 35 ans de séjour dans les marches tibétaines une œuvre linguistique et géographique qui fait de ce missionnaire français un grand érudit.

Enfin dernière étape avant Tali, nous trouvons à Siao-Weisi et à Weisi 維西, la Mission du Tibet des Moines du Grand St. Bernard. Ces courageux missionnaires se proposent d'établir un hospice sur la crête de la montagne qui sépare la Salouen du Mékong, à 4000 mètres d'altitude, pour assurer à la région isolée du Loutsekiang des communications en toutes saisons.

Nous avons achevé la reconnaissance géographique du cours moyen de la Salouen et d'une des gorges les plus profondes de l'Himalaya. Nous avons pu rapporter des itinéraires appuyés sur des observations astronomiques, du moins en ce qui concerne les latitudes, car le traitement barbare infligé à nos chronomètres par nos divers modes de locomotion ne nous permet pas de considérer nos longitudes comme très exactes. L'ethnographie n'a pas été oubliée et nous avons même été amenés à lui donner une importance qu'elle ne devait pas comporter à l'origine, notre mission ayant été organisée dans un but géographique, par le fait que nous

מסמך מס' 100  
תאריך: 10.10.77  
מקום: תל אביב  
שם: משה כהן  
מס' זהות: 123456789  
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Petite vallée d'un affluent de la Salouen dans le pays Issou



Gorges de la Salouen dans le pays Issou

them were probably official copies, others merely private memoranda. Some of the utterances of Chingis Khan must have been dictated with the purpose of inserting them into the main body of the *Yasa*, other were probably meant as only casual remarks. Moreover, the authenticity of some of the existing fragments of both the *Yasa* and the *Bilik* can be doubted.

The problem of the *Yasa* thus seems to be hopelessly involved. There can, however, be no doubt that the *Yasa* as a written document actually existed. Its original was probably in Mongol but there might have been also a Uigur version of it, since Uigur secretaries played such an important role in the chanceries of Chingis Khan and his sons.<sup>5</sup>

The fact of the existence of the *Yasa* has been recorded by several reliable chroniclers. According to Juwaini (d. 1283) copies of the *Yasa* were preserved in the treasury of each of the descendants of Chingis Khan.<sup>6</sup> Rashid ad Din (1247-1318), besides quoting certain laws and regulations from the *Yasa*, mentions the existence of it on several other occasions.<sup>7</sup>

The renowned traveler Ibn Batuta (1304 ca. 1358) whose information is usually very precise has likewise stated that Chingis Khan composed a book of laws known as *al Yasa*.<sup>8</sup> Makrizi (1384-1442) was told of a copy of the *Yasa* available in a library in Bagdad.<sup>9</sup>

According to Rashid ad Din the first khan of the Golden Horde, Batu, ordered obedience to the *Yasa* for all his subjects under penalty of death.<sup>10</sup> And we find accordingly references to the "Great *Yasa*" in the charters (*Yarlyk*) issued by Batu's successors in favor of the Russian Church.<sup>11</sup> There were also at least three references to Chingis Khan's *Yasa* in the Statutes of the Yuan [Mongol] Dynasty of China (1320).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> VLADIMIROV *Chingis Khan* pp. 116-117.

<sup>6</sup> Juwaini *Tarikh-i Jahān Gusha* ed. Mirza Muhammad Gibb Memorial Series" vol. XVI I (Leyden and London 1912) pp. 14-15 cf. BARTHOLO p. 41. On Juwaini see E. G. BROWNE *A Literary History of Persia* vol. II (Cambridge 1928) p. 473. BARTHOLO pp. 39-41.

<sup>7</sup> BEREZIN pp. 404 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Batuta ed. DEFRÉMERY (Paris 1853-1858) vol. III p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Silvestre de Sacy *Chrestomathie arabe* II (1826), pp. 160-161.

<sup>10</sup> BEREZIN p. 404.

<sup>11</sup> M. D. PRISLKOY *Chanskoe Yarlyk* (Petrograd 1910) p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> P. POPOV *Yasa Čingis Chana i ułożenie Mongolskoj Dinastii Zapiski Vostočnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva* vol. XVII (1907) p. 615<sup>o</sup> (hereafter quoted as POPOV). Cf. also P. RATCHEVSKY *Un code des Yuan Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises* vol. 4 Paris 1937.

The *Yasa* was likewise well known in Egypt. In addition to Makrizi's evidence we may here refer to Asyuti's (d. 1505) statement that the Sultan Baibars attempted to make Chingis Khan's *Yasa* valid in Egypt.<sup>11</sup> Ibn Taghribardi (1411-1466) refers to the Egyptian Amir Artash who had a profound knowledge of the "Great *Yasa*."<sup>12</sup>

As to the date of the promulgation of the *Yasa*, both Rashid ad Din and Makrizi refer it to the time of the Great Assembly (*Kurultay*) summoned by Temujin after his victory over the Keraites, the Naimans and the Merkits (1206).<sup>13</sup> This reference seems to be acceptable. It was at this assembly that Temujin was officially proclaimed emperor (great khan) and assumed his new name of Chingis. It was likewise at this date that both the military and administrative foundations of the new Empire were laid. Consequently, it was most likely in this year (1206) that the codification of Chingis Khan's *Yasa* and *Bilik* was set forth.

The expansion of the Mongols to China (from 1211) and to Turkestan (from 1219) resulted in transformation of the local Mongolian khanate into a world power. It was accompanied by a reconstruction of the whole system of administration. Chinese, Uigur and Persian traditions have each in turn contributed their patterns to the organization of Chingis Khan's empire. For this work Chingis Khan had at his disposal the best brains of Chinese and Uigur statesmanship. It is possible that the original version of the *Yasa* was somewhat revised at that time to adjust it to the needs of the expanded empire.

The first revision of the *Yasa* might have taken place at the *Kurultay* of 1218, which approved the plans of the proposed campaign against Turkestan.<sup>14</sup> By 1225 the revision of the code was completed.<sup>15</sup>

## II

We have now to examine the fragments of the *Yasa* which are available. It is only then that we may venture to comment on the scope of the code as a whole. Most of the students of Mongol history and Mongol law have considered the fragments cited by both Rashid

<sup>11</sup> V. TILLENHAUSEN (Tiesenhausen), *Sbornik Materialov Otnosjashchaja k istorii Zolotoj ordy* (St. Petersburg 1884) (hereafter quoted as TISENHAUSEN), p. xi. Cf. G. VERNADSKY, "Zolotaja Orda, Egipt i Vizantiya, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* I (1927), p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> TISENHAUSEN, p. xi.

<sup>13</sup> RIASANOVSKY, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> RIASANOVSKY, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> D. OHSSON, *Histoire des Mongols* I (1834), p. 415, n. 2. Cf. ALINGE, p. 23.

ad Din and Makrizi the two fundamental pieces of evidence about the *Yasa*. These fragments have been translated into Russian by I N BEREZIN and retranslated from Russian into English by V A RIASANOVSKY

With regard to Rashid ad Din's evidence, the attention of students of Mongol law has been concentrated on the third section of his *Jami'ut Tawarikh* which deals with the history of Chingis Khan's reign.<sup>16</sup> In this section Rashid quotes a number of ordinances and sayings of Chingis Khan, some of which were probably fragments of the *Yasa* and others mere *Bilik*. The selection is casual and the citations give no adequate notion of the full content of the *Yasa*.

Makrizi was more ambitious and attempted to present a full outline of the *Yasa*.<sup>17</sup> He had no manuscript of it at hand, but relied upon the information supplied to him by a certain Abu Hashim who told him that he had been able to see a copy of the *Yasa* in the library of the Monstanser College at Bagdad. Under these circumstances we cannot expect to find in Makrizi's book authentic quotations from the *Yasa*.

In spite of Makrizi's intention to give the reader a full record of the contents of the *Yasa*, it is obvious that he quotes only a fragment of it. Most of the opinions of the *Yasa* he cites refer to criminal law. Either the copy of the *Yasa* which Abu Hashim perused was but a fragment in itself or he paid attention to only one section of the *Yasa* although he assured Makrizi that this was the *Yasa* in full.

In addition to both Rashid ad Din's and Makrizi's works evidence on the *Yasa* might be found in other mediæval chronicles as well. Both of the outstanding Armenian chroniclers of the thirteenth century, Magakia and Vardan, attempted to summarize briefly its contents.<sup>18</sup>

The two most important sources for the study of *Yasa* are, in my opinion, the Persian *History of the Conqueror of the World* by Juwaini (d 1283)<sup>19</sup> and the Syriac *Chronography* by Gregory Abul Faradj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus (1225/6-1286).<sup>20</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> BEREZIN p 484

<sup>17</sup> S DE SACY *Chrestomathie arabe* II 161-163

<sup>18</sup> Magakia K PATKANOV, *Istoriia Mongolov imaka Magaku* (St Petersburg 1871) p 4 Vardan *ibid* p 62 and K PATKANOV, *Istoriia Mongolov po armjanskim istochnikam* I (St. Petersburg 1873), p 24

<sup>19</sup> Juwaini *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* ed Mirza Muhammad (Gibb Memorial Series" vol XVI I Leyden and London 1912) pages 17 to 70

<sup>20</sup> Bar Hebraeus *Chronography* was first published with Latin translation by P J BRUNS and G G KIRSCH (Leipzig 1788). See vol I, pp 449-451. There is a



information on the *Yasa* supplied by these two chroniclers has not as yet been adequately studied. D OHSOON used Juwaini's *History* very extensively in his *History of the Mongols*, but did not attempt to present systematically the contents of that chapter in Juwaini's work which deals with the *Yasa*. He restricted himself to a few quotations.<sup>21</sup> Some of them have been recently referred to by Dr Alinge.<sup>22</sup> As to Bar Hebraeus' *Chronicle*, D OHSOON commented contemptuously "cette maigre chronique ne nous fournit que peu de faits à ajouter à ceux que rapportent les historiens arabes et persans".<sup>23</sup>

It was probably D OHSOON's attitude towards Bar Hebraeus' *Chronicle* which caused later students to neglect this source. On the other hand Juwaini's chapter on the *Yasa* not being available in translation into any European languages, its information has not, up to now, been sufficiently used by students of the field.

The accounts of the content of the *Yasa* by both Juwaini and Bar Hebraeus are fundamentally identical. Juwaini's statement is much more detailed while Bar Hebraeus has given but a summary of its contents. Although quite brief, his summary is, however, quite adequate and authoritative. Bar Hebraeus' statements seems at first glance, to be a mere abridgement of Juwaini's evidence but I consider it more likely that both of them depended on an earlier source which might have been a written record of the *Yasa*. It is probable that Bar Hebraeus had a fair knowledge of Uigur and consequently could have used the Uigur copy of the *Yasa*.<sup>24</sup> Being a high dignitary of the Jacobite Church Bar Hebraeus had opportunity to get much inside information on the Mongol khans through the Nestorian priests, some of whom played such important roles, both at the court and in the chanceries of Chingis Khan and his immediate successors. We have to bear in mind that in spite of the dogmatic controversies between the two groups, the Jacobite writers were in close intellectual contact with the Nestorian ones and could easily profit by information

new edition with English translation by E. A. W. BUDGE (London 1932). See vol. I pp. 354-355. On Bar Hebraeus see W. WRIGHT *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894) pp. 265 ff. A. BAUMSTARK *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922) pp. 312 ff.

<sup>21</sup> D OHSOON vol. I pp. 393 ff. cf. HAMMER PURGSTALL *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde* (Pesth 1840) pp. 184 ff. BARTHOLD pp. 386 ff.

<sup>22</sup> ALINGE pp. 44-45 cf. p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> D OHSOON I p. XLVI.

<sup>24</sup> See BUDGE's introduction to his edition Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography* I p. XLVI.

supplied by the latter. It is significant that a Nestorian patriarch attended Gregory Abu'l Faraj's funeral<sup>25</sup>

As Juwaini's chapter on the *Yasa* is not yet available in translation, it seems worthwhile to give here a brief summary of its contents<sup>26</sup>. The division into sections is my own, there being no numeration of articles in the Persian original. The references in Arabic numerals are according to the pages in the "Gibb Memorial Series" edition of Juwaini's *History*. For the sake of convenience, the sections of Bar Hebraeus' account are likewise referred to (B).

I Page 18 On the forms of diplomatic correspondence, specifically referring to the declaration of war Cf B I

II Same page On the freedom of worship and the khan's benevolence towards the churches Cf B II

III Page 19 It was forbidden to use any laudatory titles with regard to both the sovereign and the noble, except khan or kaan referring to the Mongol emperor Cf B III

IV Pages 19-20 The Hunting Statute Detailed ordinances concerning the winter chase as a state institution. The chase was considered both the proper occupation of the rulers and proper training for the army. Briefly summarized, B IV

V Pages 20-21 The Military Statute Regulations concerning recruits, formation of the army units (tens, hundreds, thousands and the *tuman*), mobilization, supplies, enforcement of discipline, etc. Briefly summarized, B V

VI Page 21 The Statute of Bound Service It was forbidden to shift from one position or military unit to another without obtaining permission of the supreme authorities Cf B VII

VII Same page Obligation on the part of the army to offer the most beautiful girls at their disposal to the Khan and the higher officers (Cf Makrizi, Fragment 21). There is no corresponding section in Bar Hebraeus' chronicle. It is probable that this fragment refers to the distribution of war booty

<sup>25</sup> E. GIBBON *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: The Modern Library Edition) II 508 Cf BUDGE's introduction I p xxx

<sup>26</sup> Dr V. MINORSKY, Professor of Persian in the University of London and myself are preparing for publication a full English translation of Juwaini's chapter on *Yasa* to be supplied with proper commentary. I am greatly indebted to Professor MINORSKY who has been kind enough to send me his manuscript Russian translation of Juwaini's chapter and thus enabled me to check my own draft translation which I had completed before receiving his manuscript.

VIII Pages 11-12 The Post-service Statute Cf B VIII

IX Page 12 Fragment of the Taxation Statute Cf B VI

X Page 12 Fragment of the Inheritance Law Cf B IX

Both Juwaini and Bar Hebraeus make it clear that what the is only a selection and abridgement of the "Great Yasa" Sa Hebraeus "They have many other laws, but in order not to overlong [our discourse] we have only mentioned a few from the collection" 27

It is characteristic that in both Juwaini's and Bar Hebraeus' accounts there are but few specific references to the ordinances bearing on criminal law. In this respect, Makrizi's statement fills in the considerable extent. Some of Juwaini's statements were later incorporated into the work of Mirkhawand (1433-1498). In addition to Juwaini's evidence, Mirkhawand used also Rashid ad Din's "Collection of Histories" as well as some other sources. This section of Mirkhawand's *Rawdatu's Safa* was published, with French translation by LANGLES in volume V of the *Notices et extraits* 28. To his translation LANGLES added some alleged fragments of Yasa, some of them from other sources, partly from PETIS DE LA CROIX' compilation.

The section on "The Laws of Genghizcan" in PETIS DE LA CROIX' "History of Genghizcan" 29 is not a textual quotation from the original but rather a summary of Chingis Khan's ordinances and sayings compiled from various sources, not all of which have been referred to by the author of the book. Therefore, PETIS DE LA CROIX' compilation has to be used with caution, it is, however, not to be discarded altogether.

### III

Combining the evidence of both Juwaini and Bar Hebraeus on the one hand and the information given by both Rashid ad Din and Makrizi on the other, and bearing in mind the general summary of the Yasa by the two Armenian historians as mentioned above, we are now to a certain degree prepared to discuss the main lines of the content of the "Great Yasa" as a whole.

27 Vol I p. 355 (Budge's translation)

28 LANGLES "Notices de l'Histoire de Djenghiz-Khan" *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* V (Paris An VII [1799]) pp. 192.

29 F. PETIS DE LA CROIX *The History of Genghizcan the Great* (London, 1779-88) (original edition in French published 1710), cf H. LAMB *Genghis Khan* (New York 1927), pp. 201-204.

by the latter. It is significant that a Nestorian patriarch Gregory Abu'l Faraj's funeral<sup>25</sup>

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Pages 1C-1E. The Military Statute. Regulations concerning rearmament of the army units (tens, hundreds, thousands and *an*), mobilization, supplies, enforcement of discipline, etc. Summarized, B V

Page 1E. The Statute of Bound Service. It was forbidden to move one position or military unit to another without obtaining permission of the supreme authorities. Cf. B VII

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Before the discovery of some new evidence on the *Yasa* it is hardly possible to establish the sequence of Chingis Khan's ordinances in the original order of their incorporation in the Code. On the other hand, an attempt to classify the principles contained in the *Yasa* along the main trends of juridical thought of both Chingis Khan and his collaborators seems to be not so hopeless a task.

In my opinion the following program might be useful for arranging and classifying these principles:

- I International Law
- II Public Law
  - 1 The Supreme Power (The Khan)
  - 2 The Nation
  - 3 The Statute of Bound Service
  - 4 Immunity privileges
  - 5 Military Statutes
  - 6 Hunting Statute
  - 7 Administration and Administrative Ordinances
  - 8 Taxation
- III Criminal Law
- IV Private Law
- V Commercial Law
- VI Judiciary.
- VII Codification and Enforcement of Law

The following abbreviations will be used in quoting the fragments of the *Yasa*

- B — Bar Hebraeus
- J — Juwaini
- L — LANGLEL
- M — Makrizi
- Mag — Magakia
- Mur — Murkhawand
- P — PETIS DE LA CROIX.
- R — Rashid ad Din

In quotations from M and R the numeration of articles is according to RIASANOVSKY, in quotations from Murkhawand the reference to articles is according to LANGLEL

## I. International Law

Both Juwaini (J I) and Bar Hebraeus (B I) have recorded Chingis Khan's instructions concerning the forms of diplomatic correspondence particularly with regard to the declaration of war.

"When (the Mongols) have need to write any letter to rebels, and they must send an envoy, let them not threaten with the great size

of their army and their numbers, but let them say only, If ye will submit yourselves obediently ye shall find good treatment and rest, but if ye resist—as for us what do we know? [But] the everlasting God knoweth what will happen to you” (B I, cf J I and Mir V) <sup>29</sup>

From this precept of the *Yasa* it is apparent that Chingis Khan, in his international relations, considered himself both protected and guided by Divine Providence. Bar Hebraeus comments characteristically “and in such behaviour as this the Mongols confidence in the Lord sheweth itself. And by that they have conquered and will conquer.”

We have to bear in mind that while Chingis Khan did not belong to any of the established churches (cf J II) he apparently had deep religious feeling. He was always eager to consult the sages of different religions on various matters of life and statesmanship. Such men as the Taoist monk Ch'ang ch'un were able to impress him most deeply <sup>30</sup>. It was the idea of fulfilling his divine mission which used to support Chingis Khan in all his major undertakings and would give him confidence in dealing with his enemies. Being guided by the feeling of his mission, Chingis Khan was ready to claim universal recognition of his authority by rulers and nations all over “the climates” of the world. It is noteworthy that potential enemies are but “rebels” from his point of view (B I).

The proper form of declaration of war with the promise to spare the enemy population in case of voluntary submission (cf also Vardan's

<sup>29</sup> That the diplomatic correspondence of the Mongol khans actually conformed to the rules established by the *Yasa* can be seen from the letters of the Mongol khans and their lieutenants addressed to the Western rulers. Cf Abel REMUSAT *Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens et particulièrement des rois de France avec les Empereurs Mongols. Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France VI VII* (1822 1824). See especially Bachu Noyan's letter to the Pope (ca 1248) *Et si tu praeciptum Dei stabile et illius qui faciem totius terrae continet non audieris illud nos nescimus Deus scit* (VII pp 421-422) (Italics are mine). See also E. G. BROWNE *A Literary History of Persia* Vol III (1928) p 10. W. KOTWICZ *En marge des lettres des il khans de Perse. Collectanea Orientalia* No 4 (Lwów 1933) *id.* *Quelques mots encore sur les lettres des il khans de Perse. Collectanea Orientalia* No 10 (Wilno 1936) *id.* *Les Mongols promoteurs de l'idée de paix universelle au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La Pologne au VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Historiques* (Varsovie 1933).

<sup>30</sup> On Ch'ü Ch'ang-ch'un's meeting with Chingis Khan (1222) see PALLADIJ *Путешествие на Запад Монгача Чан Чунжа. Труды еленов Россійской Духовнои Мисіи в Пекине* IV (1866), pp 319 ff. E. BRETSCHNEIDER *Mediaeval Researches I* (1910), pp 85 ff. [Cf A. WALEY *Travels of an Alchemist* London 1931].

evidence on this point) was the first precept in the international law of the *Yasa*

Another important principle of Mongol international law must have been the inviolability of ambassadors. It was to avenge the murder of his ambassadors that Chingis Khan started a campaign against the Khorezm shah Mohammed in 1219<sup>21</sup>. And it was by murdering the Mongol envoys that the Russian princes brought down the Mongol wrath upon their heads in 1223<sup>22</sup>. There is, however, no explicit statement concerning this principle in the existing fragments of the *Yasa*.

The high status of ambassadors is emphasized by extending to them the facilities of the imperial post service (B VIII, cf J VIII)<sup>23</sup>.

## II Public Law

### 1 The Supreme Power, The Khan

The Supreme Power is concentrated in the person of the khan and the title of khan is the supreme attribute of his power. The Mongols "shall not give to their kings and nobles many laudatory names or titles like the other nations. And to [the name of] him that sitteth upon the throne of the kingdom they shall add only one name, viz khan or kan" (B III, Kaan cf J III).

The underlying motive of this precept seems to have been two fold. First, to keep intact the dignity of the Mongol imperial title above that of other rulers, second to prevent the growth of feudal aristocracy by denying the legalization of their titles.

### 2 The Nation

Politically speaking it was the Mongols only who constituted the nation according to the law of the Mongol Empire, and it was only in the brief period of interregnum that the nation could ascertain its authority by electing the new khan. This khan had, however, to be long to the ruling house that is, to be a descendant of Chingis Khan. After the death of the khan, members of his family, superior officers of the army and the tribal and clan elders used to meet together, and

<sup>21</sup> VLADIMIROV *Chingis Khan* p 124

<sup>22</sup> G VERNADSKY *Were the Mongol Envoys of 1223 Christians?* *Seminarium Kondakovianum* III (1929) pp 145 ff

<sup>23</sup> Both Plano Carpini and Rubruquis used the khan's post service. Cf Plano Carpini ed BEAZLEY (London Hakluyt Society 1903) pp 43 ff. Rubruquis ed BEAZLEY pp 173 ff

their assembly, the *kurultay*, used to take care of the elections of the new khan. It is the most wise and able among the princes of Chingis Khan's blood who was to be selected. He was then formally inducted. No one should proclaim himself khan without being duly elected (cf. L III).<sup>14</sup>

There is ample information on these electoral assemblies in the works of Juwaini, Rashid ad-Din, Bar Hebraeus, Plano Carpini, and some other sources. An essential trait of these assemblies was the reading of the appropriate sections of the "Great Yasa."<sup>15</sup> With the election of the new khan, the political rôle of the nation used to come to a close. The great assemblies, or *kurultay*, which were held from time to time on other occasions were little more than the gatherings of the khan's assistants to receive orders from the khan with regard to a proposed campaign or some other business.

The concept of the nation as represented in the *kurultay* was permeated by tribal and clan notions. It is because of their close affinity to the khan's clan that Mongol tribes and clans were considered and considered themselves invested by authority in matters of the election of the new khan. Later on, following the expansion of the Mongol Empire, other nomadic peoples, especially the Turks, were to a certain extent affiliated with the ruling nation.

The social organization of Mongol and Turkish tribes being based upon clan customs, its inner ways and habits were regulated by customary law.<sup>16</sup> Such law could hardly be interfered with by the khan, and we find little mention of this subject in the existing fragments of the *Yasa*. These matters were probably considered as being outside its scope.

### 3. The Statute of Bound Service.

Chingis Khan's empire was built upon the principle of universal obligatory service. Everybody had his specific position in the service to which he was bound and which he could not desert. This principle was later on incorporated into the practice of the Tsardom of Moscow

<sup>14</sup> LANGLÈS has quoted this section from the *Jahān Numā* by the noted Turkish "polyhistor" Haji Khalifa (d. 1037). On him see F. BABINGER, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 193 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Juwaini, p. 1A.

<sup>16</sup> On the customary law of the Mongol tribes see VLADIMIROV and RIABOVSKY; cf. also N. N. KOZMIN, *K voprosu o turecko-mongolskom feodalizme* (Moscow-Irkutsk, 1934); A. E. HUDSON, "Kazak Social Structure," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, No. 20 (New Haven, 1938).



granted partly from religious motives (as with regard to the Church institutions) and partly from considerations of the practical value of those exempted (as with regard to physicians, technicians, artisans, etc.) All these groups were granted immunity because of the fact that specific types of services were expected from them which could not be adjusted to common types of service such as the military.

A somewhat vague general statement concerning immunity of the groups mentioned has been inserted by Bar Hebraeus into his outline of the *Yasa*. "Let [the Mongols] magnify and pay honour to the modest, and the pure, and the righteous, and to the scribes, and wise men to whatsoever people they may belong" (B II).

Juwaini states that Chingis Khan "respected, loved and honored the learned men and monks of every denomination considering them as intercessors before God" (J II). We may compare this with one of the Makrizi's fragments: "He [Chingis Khan] orders that all religions shall be respected and that no preference shall be shown to any of them. All this he orders as a means to be agreeable to God" (M 11). According to Vardan, Chingis Khan "orders . . . to free from taxes and respect temples consecrated to God as well as his servants" (cf. M 10 and P II).

The practical application of this law can be best illustrated by the *yarlyk* (charters) granted by the khans of the Golden Horde to the Russian Church. Such charters guaranteed the Russian clergy against both conscription to the army and taxation. They were renewed at each change on the khan's throne. What is important for our argument, some of these charters contained direct reference to the "Great Yasa" as the authority for issuing the *Yarlyk*.

In addition to the clergy, charters of immunity used to be granted to physicians and jurists (M 10). Technicians and artisans were apparently also excused from the general conscription and subject to special work instead.<sup>39</sup>

## 5 Military Statutes

It is natural that due to the circumstances attending the formation of Chingis Khan's empire the army and army administration played a very prominent rôle in his legislation. The army administration was the backbone of the administration at large.

<sup>39</sup> See V. V. GRIGORJEV *O dostovernosti Chanskich Jarlykov* (Moscow 1842), M. D. PRISIELKOV, *Chanskie Jarlyki* (Petrograd 1916).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. BEREZIN pp. 464 ff.

(16th to 17th centuries), which, in a sense, might be considered an offspring of the Mongol Empire. Such a system has been adequately called *Krepostnoj Ustav* ('serf system') by some Russian scholars.<sup>27</sup>

The rule, as applied chiefly to military service, was recorded by both Juwaini and Bar Hebraeus: "No man of any thousand, or hundred, or ten in which he hath been counted shall depart to another place, if he doth so he shall be killed and also the head who received him" (B VIII, cf J VI).

In the compilation of *PÉRIIS DE LA CROIX* we find a more general statement on the same subject: "To banish idleness out of his dominions, he [Chingis Khan] obliged all his subjects to serve the publick in some kind or other. Those who went not to the wars, were obliged at certain seasons of the year to work so many days on the publick structures, or do some publick work for the State, and one day in every week employ themselves in the service of the Emperor in particular" (P XIV, cf M 20).

Both Rashid ad Din and Makrizi have likewise preserved some of Chingis' sayings and ordinances bearing on the universal service duties and the maintenance of strict discipline (cf R 314, 6, 8, M 24).

Any officer, even of highest rank, must accept without recalcitration, any punishment administered to him by the special messenger of the khan (even if the messenger is of the lower rank), including death sentence (J V, cf M 23).

Women were also liable to state service to replace the men of the household in case the latter defaulted (J V, cf M 19).

The principle of universal bound service was combined with another—that of equality in service. Strict discipline was enforced in all branches of the state service, but an equal amount of team work was required from all servitors and any excessive demands were eliminated (cf R 17). Equality in work requires equality in food. The *Yasa* forbade eating in the presence of another without sharing one's meal with him. In such a common meal one should not eat more than one's comrades (M 12, cf M 13).

#### 4. Immunity

Certain institutions, as well as the groups of population connected with them, were exempt from the Bound Service Statute as well as from taxation. The immunity of such groups and institutions was

<sup>27</sup> K I ZAJCEV *Lekcii po administrativnomu pravu* II (Prague 1923), pp 154 ff (hactograph edition).

granted partly from religious motives (as with regard to the Church institutions) and partly from considerations of the practical value of those exempted (as with regard to physicians, technicians, artisans, etc.) All these groups were granted immunity because of the fact that specific types of services were expected from them which could not be adjusted to common types of service such as the military.

A somewhat vague general statement concerning immunity of the groups mentioned has been inserted by Bar Hebraeus into his outline of the *Yasa*: "Let [the Mongols] magnify and pay honour to the modest, and the pure, and the righteous, and to the scribes, and wise men to whatsoever people they may belong" (B II).

Juwaini states that Chingis Khan "respected, loved and honored the learned men and monks of every denomination considering them as intercessors before God" (J II). We may compare this with one of the Makrizi's fragments: "He [Chingis Khan] orders that all religions shall be respected and that no preference shall be shown to any of them. All this he orders as a means to be agreeable to God" (M 11). According to Vardan, Chingis Khan "orders . . . to free from taxes and respect temples consecrated to God as well as his servants" (cf. M 10 and P II).

The practical application of this law can be best illustrated by the *yarlyk* (charters) granted by the khans of the Golden Horde to the Russian Church. Such charters guaranteed the Russian clergy against both conscription to the army and taxation. They were renewed at each change on the khan's throne. What is important for our argument, some of these charters contained direct reference to the "Great *Yasa*" as the authority for issuing the *Yarlyk*.

In addition to the clergy, charters of immunity used to be granted to physicians and jurists (M 10). Technicians and artisans were apparently also excused from the general conscription and subject to *special work instead*.<sup>22</sup>

## 5 Military Statutes

It is natural that due to the circumstances attending the formation of Chingis Khan's empire the army and army administration played a very prominent rôle in his legislation. The army administration was the backbone of the administration at large.

<sup>22</sup> See V. V. GRIGORJEV *O dostovernosti Chanskich Jarlykov* (Moscow 1842), M. D. PRISIELKOV *Chanskie Jarlyki* (Petrograd 1916).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. BEREZIN pp. 464 ff.

The Military Statute which constituted one of the most important parts of the "Great Yasa," has been more fully recorded by Juwaini than by any of the other authors (J V).

Commenting highly on the fighting qualities of the Mongol army, Juwaini ascribes it partly to the fact that Mongol soldiers were kept both before and during a campaign on limited rations and under constant labor. Because of this they used to rush on the enemy as hungry lions or hungry hunting dogs on their prey (J, page 11, cf Mir VII).

According to Juwaini the main features of Chingis Khan's Military Statute were the following

(a) Universal military training to consist in fighting with swords, drawing the bow and throwing javelins (page 11)

(b) Uniform organisation of the whole army in units of ten, one hundred, one thousand and ten thousand (*tuman*) men respectively (page 11, cf B V, R 3, P VI). The captain of each detachment was responsible for the efficiency of his men (cf R 13)

(c) The men to report on mobilization day fully equipped with arms and tools as required in the Statute. There is a penalty and fine for every deficiency. In case a man defaults, his wife (or another woman of his household) is to replace him (page 11, cf Mir VII-VIII). Before setting forth for the campaign the Khan has personally to inspect the army and to punish the officers of the unit where there has been a deficiency (M 18)

(d) Strict enforcement of military discipline. A high rank officer is bound to execute without slightest reservation any order sent to him by the khan through a low rank messenger be it his own death sentence (page 11, cf Mir XI, M 23)

(e) Equal distribution of team work (page 11)

(f) Absolute prohibition to shift from one unit to another (this ordinance has been dealt with already under the heading of Bound Service Statute, see above, subsection III, 3)

It is probable that the *Yasa* contained exact rules concerning the distribution of war booty, but I have found no comprehensive treatment of this matter in the existing fragments except in *PETIS DE LA CROIX*' compilation. It was forbidden on pain of death, to pillage the enemy before the general had granted leave. But it was likewise ordained that the meanest soldier should have the same advantage as the officer and remain master of the booty he should be found

possest of, on condition he paid to the Can's receiver the duties or share specified by the Law" (P VIII; cf. L XIX; M 6).<sup>40</sup>

Juwaini's statement that the army had to present the most beautiful girls to the khan and the highest officers (J VII) might refer to the distribution of war booty as well.

## 6. The Hunting Statutes.

"When [the Mongols] are unoccupied after a war with enemies, they shall devote themselves to the chase. And they shall teach their sons how to hunt wild animals, so that they may be trained in fightings with them, and may acquire strength, and the power to endure fatigue, and be able to meet their enemies as they meet the wild and savage beasts in combat, and may not spare [themselves]" (B IV).

It is again Juwaini who has preserved a more detailed account of the statute of the chase (J IV, pages 19-21). Juwaini's evidence, somewhat abridged, has been incorporated by Mirkhawand into his work (Mir. XV).

The chase was considered by Chingis Khan the best school for military training. The great winter chase occupied a paramount place in Mongol life. It was an important economic, social and state institution. A big chase required the attendance of a whole army corps (to drive and encircle herds of wild animals, such as beasts of prey, wild asses, antilopes, etc.). It thus played the part that army manoeuvres play at the present time.

The *Yasa*, judging by Juwaini's statement, established comprehensive rules as to the formation of the gigantic circle for the hunt. Men were to be posted in military formation in two wings ("hands") which eventually had to come to a juncture. The circle was to converge gradually, the whole campaign requiring from one to three months until the game was driven in to the fixed spot of the inner circle.

Any negligence or break in discipline on the part of any of the officers and men was subject to severe punishment. When the game had been driven into the inner circle, the khan initiated the shooting, followed by his lieutenants; after the *grandées*, the rank and file were to have their turn. The game was not to be annihilated completely; some had to be freed for the purpose of propagation.

<sup>40</sup> According to LANGLEL, PÉTIS' authority in this case is Fadlallah, that is Rashid ad-Din (cf. PÉTIS DE LA CROIX, p 423). On the distribution of war booty among the Mongols see BEREZIN, pp 446-447.

## 7. Internal Administration Administrative Ordinances.

The maintenance of peace and order is the general objective of the internal administration according to the spirit of the *Yasa*

"As soon as the Mongol tribes submitted themselves to Chingis Khan he was displeased by certain habits of theirs such as theft and adultery and resolved to abrogate them in order to adorn his states with order and justice. The cities and the highways became free and open to merchants of all kinds. He wanted to provide them with so much safety and ease that they would be able to carry gold on their heads all over his dominions without any danger (of being robbed) in the same way as people were accustomed to carry plain vases" (Mir V)

In conformity with this objective the organization of post horse stations (*yam*) along the imperial highways became one of the major tasks of the government (Juwaini VIII, cf B VIII, M 25). One *yam* was to be furnished by every two *tuman*<sup>41</sup>. Each *yam* had to be provided with horses, fodder, and food and drink for the travelers. A yearly inspection of each *yam* was prescribed. The service was free for the use of ambassadors and the khan's messengers (B VIII), but excessive demands on the part of the travelers were forbidden<sup>42</sup>.

In addition to such regular items of internal administration as post service and taxation (the latter will be dealt with in the next subsection), administrative ordinances were issued with regard to some specific minor points. Some of these were incorporated into the *Yasa* and probably a part of them were preserved in the existing fragments.

Three items may be mentioned here:

(a) Ordinance prescribing that all under penalty of death return a runaway slave to the lawful owner (M 7).

(b) Ordinances prescribing to observe certain rules for slaughtering animals in accordance with Mongol customs (M 8, cf P XI XII).

(c) Ordinances prescribing certain rules about entering into the water and washing clothes in the water, or even in some cases for bidding it (M 14 15). The motives must have been partly ritualistic—not to offend the Supreme Being by polluting the purity of an important element (cf M 4). On the other hand their original motive

<sup>41</sup> Cf below subject on 8 concerning the taxation statute.

<sup>42</sup> See Popov p. 6152. As to the merchants traveling on private business the khan Mangu ruled that they must travel on their own horses (Berezin p. 461).

was probably a realistic, or scientific one, out of consideration of the danger of touching water during a thunderstorm

It is apparent that the original ordinance, as formulated by PETIS DE LA CROIX, forbade bathing and washing one's clothes in running waters not at large hut "during the time it thundered" only (P XX)

PETIS comments thus "Thunder, in ancient Mongolistan and the adjacent countries, was so dreaded by the Monguls, because it did often mischief, that so soon as ever they heard it begin they all threw themselves desperately into rivers and lakes, and were often drowned. Temugin, finding this extraordinary fear caused him to lose many of his best soldiers, even when he had most need of them, strictly forbade, under a severe penalty, any persons to bathe or wash themselves upon any pretext whatever, nay they were not permitted to wash their clothes in running waters during the time it thundered"

## 8 Financial Administration and Taxation

Due to the prevalence of natural economy among the Mongols and the Turks, the problems of financial administration of the original Mongol state were not very complicated. Both the officers and the men in the army had to provide themselves with horses, arms and some amount of food rations. During a campaign the Mongol army fed itself on the enemy food and forage supplies and booty.

With the expansion of the empire, however, the upkeep of both the khan's household and the administration required the establishment of a more regular system of taxation. It is probable that the "Great Yasa" contained an elaborate statute on taxation, but only a brief summary of it is given by Juwaini. "After the countries and the population had been subjected to the domination [of the Mongols] a census was made, (ism) quotas according to groups of ten, hundred and thousand were fixed for the recruiting of the army. Post service taxes and duties, and levy of cattle and the forage, not mentioning taxes in money, and in addition the *kobjur* "were imposed" (J IX)

To the quotas listed above that of *tuman* must be added since it is mentioned in the post service statute (J VIII). It is characteristic that the network of taxation units corresponded to the system of military units. The organisation of taxation units in Russia after the Mongol conquest followed similar lines "4

<sup>44</sup> On the *kobjur* see BEREZEN pp 466 and 473, M. LEVICKI "Les inscriptions mongoles inédites. *Collectanea Orientalia* No 12 (Wilno 1937), p 33

<sup>45</sup> South Russia was divided into *tuman* for purposes of taxation. See N. MOLČA

To Juwaini's evidence, Bar Hebraeus' statement might be added "The whole nation of the Mongols shall help their kings every year with [gifts from] their flocks and herds, and their treasures, and their horses, and their sheep and their milk, and even woolen apparel" (B VI)

Thus, the taxes established were apparently both in kind and in money. In addition to the taxation, the population was also subject to compulsory labor. "He orders the troops on their return from the campaign to do some work for the sultan" (M 20)

An important source of revenue was the prospective war booty, which especially during the first period of expansion of the empire, must have constituted an almost regular item of the national income of the Mongols

### III. Criminal Law

It is Makrizi's version of the *Yasa* which constitutes the bulk of evidence with regard to its criminal law. To this some scattered fragments from other sources have to be added.

The criminal law of the *Yasa* has as its main objectives the keeping of peace and order in the state and society. Magakia's statement might be considered to express best the general spirit of the *Yasa* in this respect. According to Magakia it prescribed "to love each other, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to hear false witness, not to be a traitor, to keep the old and the poor in esteem. For any offense there shall be a penalty of death" (Magakia, cf. Vardan [see note 18]).

Thus, while the final goal seems to have been humanitarian in a broad sense, the law was to be enforced with ruthless severity.

It would be outside the scope of the present article to study the criminal law of the *Yasa* in detail. Useful comment on it will be found in RIASANOVSKY's *Mongolian Law*.<sup>43</sup> We will limit ourselves here by classifying in a general way the types of both crime and punishment respectively, as recognized and established by the *Yasa*. This will suffice for obtaining some idea of the general tendencies of its criminal law.

#### 1. Classification of types of crime.

The *Yasa* recognizes as crime subject to punishment the following groups of offenses: (a) offenses against religion, morals and established

NOVSKIY *Očerki izvestij o Podolskoj zemle do 1434 goda* (Kiev 1885), pp. 156 ff. Cf. G. VERNADSKY *Zvezda Russkoj Kultury*, I (Berlin 1937) pp. 158-159.

<sup>43</sup> RIASANOVSKY pp. 10 ff. Cf. ALINGE pp. 42-43.



customs, (b) offenses against the khan and state, (c) offenses against the life and interests of private persons

(a) Offenses against religion, morals and established customs

These are Interference with the freedom of any of the religious denominations (M 11, cf Vardan and Mag) Intentional lies (probably in court or official reports) (M 3) Ritualistic offenses polluting water and ashes (M 4), slaughtering animals contrary to established custom (M 8) Adultery (M 1, cf P XVIII) Sodomy (M 2)

(b) Offenses against the khan and state

Violation of the Bound Service Statute (J VIII, B VII), especially by higher officers with regard to the khan, (M 23 and 24) might be considered the main type of offense in this group

To this item belongs, in addition to the offenses just mentioned, the one referred to in the compilation of PETIS DE LA CROIX turning of a free man of the Mongol nation into one's domestic servant (P XVI) This offense at first glance might seem to belong to the next section (offenses against the interests of private persons) However, the real motive of this ruling was the desire to keep intact the body of those fit for military service (P XVI) Thus, its real intention was to prevent any one from escaping service to the khan and state Further offenses of this group are Abuse of official authority by civil and military officers, especially such as governors of provinces (P XXII, cf M 23) Breaking of military discipline (J IV and V, cf Mir XI, XV, M 9) Violation of the *Yasa* (R 23)

(c) Offenses against the life and interest of private persons

There is only one fragment of the *Yasa* which deals with murder, and it refers to the murder of Muslims and Chinese only (Mir XXXIII) All other cases of offenses against private persons as registered in the existing fragments of the *Yasa* refer to infringement on private property The main items of this group are the following

Interference with another's slave or captive (M 6 and 7, cf P XVI) Horse and cattle stealing (P XV, cf Ibn-Batuta's statement)<sup>46</sup> Fraudulent bankruptcy (M 5)<sup>47</sup>

## 2 Classification of types of punishment

The obvious main objective of punishment as understood by the

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Batuta ed DEFREMERY II p 364 Ibn Batuta does not state explicitly that this law was a section of the 'Great Yasa' but he seems to infer it Cf RIASANOVSKY, p 15

<sup>47</sup> See below subsection V on commercial law

*Yasa* is physical annihilation of the offender. Therefore, punishment by death plays an important rôle throughout the code.

As subsidiary objectives the *Yasa* knows the temporary elimination of the offender by imprisonment, deportation or demotion, and his intimidation either by inflicting pain or imposing a fine.

It is necessary to bear in mind that not only the offender himself is liable to punishment but in some cases his wife and children are likewise held responsible (R 6).

(a) Punishment by death is prescribed for almost all types of crime. It is imposed for most of the offenses against religion, morals or established customs (M 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, Mag), for most of the offenses against the khan and state (M 9, 24, Mir 27),<sup>44</sup> and for some offenses against property, for a third bankruptcy (M 5), for horse stealing when the thief is unable to pay the fine (Ibn Batuta).

(b) Punishment by imprisonment and deportation is imposed for violation of the *Yasa* by members of the khan's clan (R 23). Each captain of a military unit is subject to the punishment of demotion if he is unable to handle his office (R 6).

(c) Soldiers and hunters are subject to punishment by inflicting pain for minor offenses against military discipline (J IV and V, Mir XV).

(d) In case of a murder the offender is liable to a fine. This, according to Mirkhawand (XXXIII) amounted to 40 gold *balysk* for murdering a Muslim. The murderer of a Chinese had to deliver a donkey (with the probable alternative of paying the price of it in cash).

For horse-stealing, both retaliation and fine in kind was imposed on the offender. The alternative was death (Ibn Batuta).

#### IV. Private Law

The evidence on the private law of the *Yasa* is very meager. This probably is to be explained not only by the incompleteness of the existing fragments but also by the fact that such matters were regulated by customary tribal law and the *Yasa* did not interfere with it much.

##### (a) Family law

PÉTIS DE LA CROIX mentions in his compilation that Chingis Khan issued a law concerning marriages and ordained "that the man should

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also POPOV p. 6152.

buy his wife, and that he should not marry with any maid whom he was a kin in the first or second degree, but in all other degrees it was permitted Polygamy was permitted, and the free use of their women slaves" (P XVII)

RIASANOVSKY quotes an alleged fragment of the *Yasa* according to which after the death of the head of a family the fate of his wives is at the discretion of the son, except this son's own mother The son can marry his father's widows (except his own mother) himself or marry them outside (RIASANOVSKY's Fragment 35) <sup>49</sup>

PÉTIS DE LA CROIX states that "The management of the man's fortune, amongst the Tartars, belongs to the women They buy and sell as they think fit The husbands wholly employ themselves with hunting and war and trouble themselves with nothing else" (P XVII)

Rashid ad Din's Fragment 14 must be compared with PÉTIS' statement as above According to Rashid, Chingis Khan made the wife responsible for keeping the man's house in order

PÉTIS has also a section concerning the legal status of the children "The children who are born of the slaves are legitimate as well as those born of the wives, but the wives' children, and especially those born of the first wife, are the most respected by the father, who first advances them" (P XVII, cf RIASANOVSKY's Fragment 34)

#### (h) Inheritance

In the matters of inheritance the *Yasa* seems to have merely confirmed the requirements of customary law After the death of the head of the family his estate had to be so divided among his sons that the eldest son's respective share was greater than the other sons' It was the youngest son who had to receive his father's homestead (in the case of nomads, *yurt*, that is tent with all appurtenances including flocks and herds)

The seniority of sons was established by the rank of their respective mothers in their father's household As has been mentioned in the section on family status, children born by concubines (slaves) are considered legitimate and receive their share, subject, however, to their father's will (RIASANOVSKY's Fragment 34) It seems that in this qualification we have evidence for the ascendancy of the principle of the legacy by will as opposed to the principle of the division of the dead man's estate according to the principles of customary law

The khan was not to interfere in matters of inheritance among his

<sup>49</sup> RIASANOVSKY p 15

subjects, even in the case of a legacy without living heirs "From the man who is dead and hath no heir, nothing shall be taken for the king, but his possessions shall be given to the man who ministered unto him" (B IX, cf J X, Mir XIV).

## V. Commercial Law

It is known that Chingis Khan attributed great importance to commerce. Keeping commercial highways safe for international trade was one of the main objectives of his policy. Due to this tendency it is natural to surmise that the *Yasa* must have contained some kind of Merchants' Statute. However, there is only one section on commercial law in the fragments of the *Yasa* available to us. This is Makrizi's Fragment 5 concerning bankruptcy: "Whoever will take goods [on credit] and go bankrupt, then will take goods again and go bankrupt once more, then will take goods and go bankrupt again, shall be sentenced to death after his third bankruptcy."

## VI Judiciary, Legal Procedure

The matters of judiciary and of the organization of the courts was apparently left by Chingis Khan to the discretion of clan elders, religious bodies, trade corporations, municipal communities (where such were existent) and local governors.

The trial of the members of the khan's clan was referred to the Supreme Court of this clan, formed by the clan elders (R 23). If a member of the clan broke the laws of the *Yasa*, he had to be admonished by the clan elders twice. If he broke them for a third time he had to be deported to a distant locality. If he would not repent after that, he had to be put in jail, until he did repent. If he would not repent even then, an assembly of the clan was to be summoned to decide his fate.

As to general legal procedure, there is one fragment of the *Yasa* (R 7) which requires three witnesses to make a statement valid. This probably was intended for cases where the defendant could not corroborate charges by formal documents.

## VII Fixation of the Code. Subsidiary legislation

It was Chingis Khan's intention that the code of laws approved by him was to be immutable. He enjoined on his successors the duty of keeping the code intact lest the state break up and collapse (R 2, cf R 12). His son Jaghatay was appointed guardian of the *Yasa* (M 26).

After Chingis Khan's death it was Jaghatay who inducted Ugaday to the Khan's throne in accordance with Chingis Khan's will<sup>80</sup>

Each new Khan whether ruling over the empire as a whole or over his own appanage had to begin his reign by confirming the validity of the *Yasa*<sup>81</sup> According to Ibn Batuta the descendants of Chingis Khan had to assemble once a year together with the higher officers of each realm to ascertain that no prince of Chingis Khan's blood had violated the *Yasa* during the term expired Any prince who was found guilty had to be deposed<sup>82</sup> "Whoever violates the *Yasa* shall lose his head" was the characteristic order of Batu, Khan of the Golden Horde<sup>83</sup>

The validity of the *Yasa* did not exclude supplementary legislation by Chingis Khan's successors But such legislation was not to contradict the principles of Chingis Khan's *Yasa* and had chiefly local significance

The case of the Golden Horde might be taken for illustrating the correlation between Chingis Khan's *Yasa* and the ordinances of his successors The Khans of the Golden Horde issued a considerable number of charters and ordinances with regard to the administration of their Khanate These were known as *yarlyk*, and as we have seen from the example of the *yarlyk* granted to the Russian Church, the *Yasa* still remained the supreme authority and source for legislation<sup>84</sup>

Chingis Khan's *Yasa* is referred to in the *yarlyk* of the Khans of the Golden Horde as the "Great *Yasa*" It is an adequate term since what actually took place in different parts of Chingis Khan's empire after his death was the appearance of a number of lesser, or local, *Yasa*, resulting from the growth of local legislation But long after the break up of the empire created by Chingis Khan, the validity of the "Great *Yasa*" as the supreme Code of Laws was universally recognised by local Khans and rulers all over the territory of the Greater Mongol Empire

#### IV

In conclusion, brief characterizations of the juridical nature of the *Yasa* as a legal document would not be amiss Up to now it has been usual to consider Chingis Khan's *Yasa* a mere codification of the customary laws of the Mongol tribes<sup>85</sup> Our study of the content of the *Yasa* enables us to arrive at different conclusions<sup>86</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Bar Hebraeus ed BUDGE I p 393

<sup>81</sup> JUWAINI p 1A

<sup>82</sup> Ibn Batuta ed DEFREMIERY III 40-41

<sup>83</sup> BEREZIN p 404

<sup>84</sup> See above Section II and Section III (subsection II 4)

<sup>85</sup> RIASANOVSKY pp 9 10 BARTHOLD p 41, VLADIMIROV p 10

<sup>86</sup> Cf also ALINGE p 28

As we have seen, the *Yasa* seems to have had as its main objective not to codify customary law but to supplement it in accordance with the needs of the empire superimposed on the former tribal state. On most of the matters of tribal and clan customary law the *Yasa* is practically silent. It is apparent that in many cases, for example as clan and family institutions, the *Yasa* tacitly accepted the principles of customary law and avoided any interference with them.

Most of the *Yasa*'s principles were intended either to fill the gaps in customary law or, as in the case of the criminal law, to replace traditional customs with new ordinances.

The objective which Chingis Khan had in mind in promulgating the *Yasa* was to create a new system of law—that of the khan—to be superimposed upon the earlier foundations of the tribal law. Actually, the new system of law as established by Chingis Khan was the result of a blending of an imperial concept of state with the patrimonial concept of the authority of the khan as tribal chief.

On one hand, the whole Mongol state is considered the khan's appanage. On the other hand, we clearly discern the appearance of the imperial idea. Both Chingis Khan and his first successors obviously aimed at the goal of transforming their state into the World Empire. Several laws of the *Yasa* bear witness to this tendency.

Both the imperial idea of Chingis Khan and the imperial concept of state and law as expressed in the *Yasa* apparently had diverse sources. It is probable that the Chinese concept of the state was one of these sources.<sup>57</sup> It is likewise probable that the Christian idea of the Universal Church and the Universal Empire was another important foundation of the *Yasa*'s spirit. It was after his victory over the Naimans and the Keraites that Chingis Khan laid the foundations of his *Yasa*. Among both these peoples Nestorian Christianity had been widely spread by that time.<sup>58</sup>

Through contact with both the Keraites and the Naimans Christianity succeeded in exerting considerable influence at the court of Chingis Khan and his immediate successors. Some of their respective advisers were Christians (Nestorians) and it is probably through them that the Christian idea of a Universal Empire based upon religious foundations may have found a way into Chingis Khan's *Yasa*.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. RIASANOVSKY, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law* p. 29.

<sup>58</sup> R. GROUSSET, *Histoire de l'Asie* III (Paris 1922), p. 6 cf. VLADIMIROV *Chingis Khan*, p. 64.

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## HAMADA KŌSAKU 濱田耕作 (1881-1938)

On July 25 of this year the famous Japanese archaeologist, HAMADA Kōsaku, pen-name (*go* 號) Seiryō 青陵,<sup>1</sup> died in Kyōto.

When I visited him in August 1937 at the Archaeological Institute of Kyōto Imperial University, it did not occur to me that I was seeing this energetic and active scholar for the last time. A month before my visit he had been appointed to the presidency of this same university and, since he was extremely busy with new executive duties, I did not trouble him with specific archaeological questions which I had in mind from my trip through China. But this last short meeting still lingers fresh in my memory. Our latest previous meeting had occurred ten years before in Paris, in 1927, when he was on his way to Spain.

I met Professor Hamada for the first time in Kyōto in 1900, when I was a sophomore and he had just been appointed lecturer (*kōshi* 講師) in the newly created department of archaeology at the recently established Kyōto Imperial University. I was much impressed by his personality and captivated by all he had to say regarding Japanese and Chinese art. He was happy to be again in the old Japanese capital where he had spent several years as a student in the Third High School (Daisan Kōtō Gakkō 第三高等學校). His university training had been received at Tōkyō Imperial University as a major in European History, but he had also followed courses in Oriental history under Professor K. SNIRATORI 白鳥庫吉博士. In 1905 he graduated with high honors, having presented for the *bungakushi* 文學士 degree a thesis on the influence of Greek culture on the East. He continued his studies in the University, then taught history for a while in Waseda Middle School 早稻田中學校. At the same time he became a collaborator on the famous art periodical *Kokka* 國華 where many of his important articles were published. During his student years, although majoring in European history, he had already shown a deep interest in the fine arts and archaeology,

<sup>1</sup> Some of his short articles are signed Seiryō sei 青陵生.

and many of his early articles published in *Kokka* deal with Japanese painting

In 1911 he went to Peking to examine the manuscripts which had been brought from Tun huang On a trip through North China undertaken at this time he visited the Lung men caves with their beautiful Buddhist sculptures As he wrote in his diary,<sup>2</sup> to him it was the first revelation of the beauty of ancient Chinese art On the return trip to Japan he took part in excavations near Port Arthur (Ryojun 旅順) where Han tombs were discovered It was his first contact with field work in the Far East, and it so caught his interest that he devoted the rest of his life to East Asiatic archaeology

After his promotion to an assistant professorship at Kyoto in 1913 he received a leave of absence for three years in order to go to Europe and familiarize himself with archaeological work and art collections as well as with the work of western scholars He stayed chiefly in England but also visited Italy and Greece His appointment as full professor came in 1917, and in the following year he received the degree of *Bungaku hakushi* 文學博士 In 1925 he accompanied the Swedish crown prince in Korea and directed the excavation which was undertaken in honor of the royal visitors In 1927 he made a second trip to Europe, visiting the Scandinavian countries and studying the important Swedish collections of Far Eastern art in Stockholm From there he went to France, and after a journey through Brittany and a trip to the region of Eyzies, where he visited the caverns with the famous prehistoric paintings, he went to Spain

In October 1930 he began a term of two years as Dean of the Faculty of Literature of Kyoto Imperial University In 1931 came his election as a member of the Japanese Imperial Academy of Science (*Nihon Teikoku Gakushi in* 日本帝國學士院) Six years later he was appointed President of Kyoto Imperial University with the special task of readjusting financial difficulties incurred before his nomination He accepted this difficult task out of profound devotion to the university with which his academic career

<sup>2</sup> *Koko-yuki* 考古遊記 p. 2 Tokyo 1929

had been so closely associated, but in the summer of 1938 his health declined and he died in July of that same year

Professor Hamada will remain known as the man who provided a solid scientific foundation for archaeological research work in Japan. Under his guidance the Archaeology Department of Kyoto Imperial University came to play the leading role in Far Eastern archaeology. He was not only an outstanding scholar, but also a remarkable teacher who gave great impetus to research work in his field. From the beginning of his academic career he published scientific articles, and never permitted his many other duties to hinder scholarly productivity. His pupils, the young archaeologists of Kyoto Imperial University, are following the example of their teacher in continuing active scholarly production. The multiple excavations in Japan executed by the Kyoto Archaeological Institute were done under the leadership of the late Professor Hamada and the *Reports upon Archaeological Research*, the first volume of which was published in March 1917, were done under his supervision and almost invariably with his collaboration. He was also one of the leaders in the work of archaeological excavation in Manchuria and especially in Korea, and he wrote many important reports on these fields. The long list of his publications illustrates better than words his great productivity and the many problems upon which he touched.

- 1 Koko zairyo *Tokyo Jinrui gakuzasshu* 147 and 148 (1898)  
考古材料 人類學雜誌 (Archaeological Material)
- 2 Yamashiro ni okeru genshijidai no ibutsu iseki *Tokyo Jinrui gakuzasshu* 182 and 200 (1901-1902) 山城に於ける原始時代の遺物遺蹟 (Prehistoric Remains and Sites in Yamashiro)
- 3 Haniwa yakikata no ichi irei *Tokyo Jinrui gakuzasshu* 197 (1902)  
埴輪焼き方の一異例 (A Peculiar Example of Firing of Japanese Haniwa Figurines)
- 4 Nihon sekkijidai jimmun ni tsukite yo ga utagai *Tokyo Jinrui gakuzasshu* 198 (1902) 日本石器時代人民に就きて今か疑ひ (My Doubts concerning the Japanese of the Stone Age)
- 5 Futatabi sekkijidai jimmun ni tsuite *Tokyo Jinrui gakuzasshu* 200 (1902) 再び石器時代人民に就いて (More about the People of the Stone Age)

- 6 Nihon sekijidai jūmin no moyo to ainu moyo ni tsukite *Tokyo Jinruihakuzasshi* 213 (1903) 日本石器時代人民の模様とアイヌ模様に就きて (Japanese Stone Age Patterns and Ainu Patterns)
- 7 Shina no ko doki ni tsuite *Kokka* 163 (1903) 支那の古銅器に就いて (On Ancient Chinese Bronzes)
- 8 Hiruto shi no shina ko doki koto ni kaima budo kyo ni kansuru kenkyu *Kokka* 174 (1904) ヒルト氏の支那古銅器殊に海馬葡萄鏡に關する研究 (The Studies of Professor HIRTO on Ancient Chinese Bronzes and especially on Mirrors Decorated with Hippocampus and Grapevine)
- 9 Ainu sekizoku shiyo no hitokaji *Kokokai* 4 No 2 (1904) アイヌ石鏃使用の一記事 (A Note on the Usage of Stone Arrowheads by Ainus)
- 10 Kaiju budo kyo ni tsuite *Kokokai* 3 No 9 (1904) 海獸葡萄鏡に就て (On Mirrors Decorated with Sea Animals and the Grapevine)
- 11 Tempyo jidai no chokoku *Kokka* 183 and 184 (1904) 天平時代の彫刻 (Sculpture of the Tempyo Period)
- 12 Minami Kawachi chiho ni okeru sekki jidai iseki to kofun *Jinruihakuzasshi* 182 (1905) 南河内地方に於ける石器時代遺蹟と古墳 (The Neolithic Remains and Ancient Tombs in the Region of Southern Kawachi)
- 13 Kusumi Morikage *Kokka* 186 (1905) 久隅守景
- 14 Gurisha indo shiki bukkyo bijutsu ni tsuite *Kokka* 188 (1906) 希臘印度式佛教美術に就いて (Graeco Indian Influence upon Far Eastern Art)
- 15 Gabai ni tsuite *Kokka* 195 (1906) 畫梅に就いて (Plum Trees as an Art Subject in China)
- 16 Yakushiji kondo yakushi no kohai ni tsuite *Rekishu chiri* 17 No 10 (1906) 藥師寺金堂藥師の光背に就て (On the Nimbus of Yakushi [Bhaisajyaguru] in the Golden Hall of the Yakushi temple)
- 17 Miyamoto Niten *Kokka* 194 (1906) 宮本二天 (MIYAMOTO Niten as a Painter)
- 18 Suiko jidai no chokoku *Kokka* 109 (1906) 推古時代の彫刻 (Sculpture of the Suiko Period)
- 19 Tōdaiji Nigatsudō honzon kohai no kebori *Kokka* 202 (1907) 東大寺二月堂本尊九尊の毛彫 (The Carving of the Nimbus of the Principal Deity of Nigatsudo in Todaiji)



- 20 Heike to bijutsu *Kokka* 204 (1007) 平家と美術 (The Heike and the Fine Arts)
- 21 Bukkyo izen no nihon bijutsu *Kokka* 205 and 206 (1907) 佛教以前の日本美術 (Pre Buddhist Arts of Japan parts 1 and 2)
- 22 Fujiwara makki no emakimono ni tsuite *Kokka* 208 (1907) 藤原末期の絵巻物に就いて (The E makimono of the Latter Part of the Fujiwara Period)
- 23 Momoyama jidai to sono bi no tokushitsu *Kokka* 211 (1907) 桃山時代と其美の特質 (The Momoyama Period and its Arts)
- 24 Kano Motonobu ron *Kokka* 213 (1908) 狩野元信論 (On KANO Motonobu)
- 25 Chuzonji no konjikido ni tsuite *Kokka* 219 (1908) 中尊寺の金色堂に就て (The Konjikido Chūzonji)
- 26 Chuzonji konjikido no konryu no mokuteki to nendai ni tsuite, *Rekishi chiri* 19 No 0 (1908) 中尊寺金色堂の建立の目的と年代に就て (On the Date and Reason for Erecting the Golden Hall of Chuzonji)
- 27 Chuzonji konjikido no konryu nendai ni tsuite no hotei *Rekishi chiri* 19 No 10 (1908) 中尊寺金色堂の建立年代に就ての補訂 (Addenda and Corrigenda to The Date of the Golden Hall of Chuzonji)
- 28 Nihon kodai no shozo chokoku ni tsuite *Kokka* 214 (1908) 日本古代の自像彫刻に就て (On Ancient Japanese Statuary)
- 29 Sesshu no yoji to gokei no kisho *Kokka* 223 (1908) 雪舟の幼時と豪溪の奇勝 (Sesshu's Early Training)
- 30 Kofukuji no itabon ju ni shinsho zo *Kokka* 222 (1908) 興福寺の板彫十二神将像 (Relief Sculptures of the Twelve Celestial Generals in Kofukuji)
- 31 Konjikido konryu nendai ni tsuite *Kokka* 222 (1908) 金色堂建立年代に就いて (The Date of the Construction of the Golden Hall)
- 32 Hakuhutsukan no Fugenbosatsu zu *Kokka* 223 (1908) 博物館の普賢菩薩圖 (The Pictures of Samantabhadrabodhisattva in the Museum)
- 33 Kamakura Komyoji no Taema mandara engi *Kokka* 222 (1908) 鎌倉光明寺の當麻曼荼羅緣起 (The History of the Taema mandara of Komyoji in Kamakura)
- 34 Kyo cho hitsu jigoku henso emaki *Kokka* 220 (1908) 慶應筆地獄變相繪卷 (Kyo cho's Scroll Illustrating Hell)

- 35 Kodai no shinzo ni tsute, *Kokka* 220 (1908) 古代の神像に就て (Ancient Shinto Statuary).
- 36 Komyoji no jōdo goso emaki, *Kokka* 225 (1909) 光明寺の浄土五祖畫卷 (The Scroll Painting with the Portraits of the Five Patriarchs of the Jodo Sect at Komyōji)
- 37 Shakamuni kinkan shutsugen zu, *Kokka* 225 (1909) 釋迦牟尼金棺出現圖 (A Picture of Śakyamuni Rising from a Golden Coffin)
- 38 Ryōkai no kessaku shussan shaka oyobi sansui zu, *Kokka* 227 (1909) 梁楷の傑作出山釋迦及び山水圖 (The Chefs d'œuvre of LIANO K'ai Buddha Coming from the Mountains, and Landscapes)
- 39 Gonsō Sojō no shōzo, *Kokka* 229 (1909) 勤操僧正の肖像 (The Portrait of Bishop Gonsō)
- 40 Hanabusa Itchō hitsu Sojō Henjō zu, *Kokka* 229 (1909) 英一蝶筆僧正遺<sup>レ</sup>圖 (The Portrait of Bishop HENJŌ by HANABUSA Itchō)
- 41 Hisbikawa Moronobu no koto domo, *Kokka* 229 (1909) 菱川師<sup>レ</sup>の事ども (Notes on HISBIKAWA Moronobu)
- 42 Kamakura jidai no bijutsu, *Kokka* 234, 237, 230, and 241 (1909) 鎌倉時代の美術 (Fine Arts of the Kamakura Period)
- 43 Eshin ha no shinbutsuga no ichirei to shite, Kurodani no Yamagoshi Amida Sanzon zu, *Kokka* 224 (1900) 恵心派の新佛畫の一例として黒谷の山越阿彌陀三尊圖 (A Portrait of Yamagoshi no Amida, A Product of the Eshin School of Buddhist Painting).
- 44 Kamakura jidai no bunka to sono bijutsu, *Geimon* 1, No 1 (1910) 鎌倉時代の文化と其美術 (The Civilization of the Kamakura Period and its Fine Arts)
- 45 Bijutsu no yōshiki to jidai, *Geimon* 1, No 3 (1910) 美術の様式と時代 (The Relationship of Form and Period in the Fine Arts)
- 46 Bungo no Fukkiji, *Geimon* 1, No 6 (1910) 豊後の富貴寺 (Fukkiji in Bungo [Province]).
- 47 Chikugo no Sekijin, *Ōsaka Asahi shimbun* (August 1910) reprinted in *Kudara Kannon* 筑後の石人 (A Stone Figure from Chikugo)
- 48 Nammanshū no ko seki, *Ōsaka-Asahi shimbun*, Nov 1910 [reprinted in the volume *Kudara Kannon*, 1930] 南滿洲の古蹟 (Ancient Sites in Southern Manchuria)

- 49 Kami Kusuta no sekijū, *Ōsaka-Asahi shimbun* 1910 (reprinted in *Kudara Kannon*) 上楠田の石人 (A Stone Figure from Kami Kusuta)
- 50 Seigi no shimen butsu ni tsuite, *Shigaku kenkyukai kōenshu* 4 (1910) 西魏の四面佛に就いて (On a Four-headed Buddha of the Western Wei)
- 51 Reonarudo Dahuriyu Kingu jutsu sumeru jin no kongenchū ni tsuite, *TG* 2, No 2 (1911), (A review of *A History of Sumer and Akkad* by Leonard W King, London, 1910)
- 52 Shina no dogu to nihon no haniwa, *Geimon* 2, No 1 (1911) 支那の土偶と日本の埴輪 (Chinese Clay Figures and Japanese Clay Figures [haniwa])
- 53 Ryōjun Chokaton no ichi kofun, *TG* 1, No 2 (1911) 旅順刁家屯の一古墳 (An Ancient Tomb at Tiao chia t'un near Port Arthur [with 2 plates])
- 54 Jūnishinzō chokoku no sekkan, *TG* 1, No 3 (1911) 十二神象彫刻の石棺 (A Stone Coffin of the Kao li 高麗 Period with Carved Signs of the Zodiac)
- 55 Ejiputo hijutsu no higen ni tsuite, *Geimon* 2, No 4 (1911) 埃及美術の起原に就て (On the Origin of Egyptian Art)
- 56 Shina kodai no deizo, *Kokka* 252, 254, 256, and 258 (1911) 支那古代の埴象 (Ancient Chinese Clay Figures)
- 57 Kohyō hachiman no kairaiishi, *Geimon* 2, No 5 (1911) 古表八幡の傀儡子 (Puppets of the Kohyōhachiman Temple in Kyūshū)
- 58 Shina shinkū hakutsu no deizo, *Geimon* 2, No 8 (1911) 支那新疆發掘の埴像 (Clay Figures Excavated in China)
- 59 Nammanshu ni okeru kokogaku kenkyū, *TG* 2 No 3, 3, No 1 (1912 1913) 南滿洲に於ける考古學研究 (An Archaeological Investigation in Southern Manchuria [in 2 parts])
- 60 Shina kodai no haika ni tsuite, *TG* 2, No 2 (1912) 支那古代の貝貨に就いて (Old Shell Money in China)
- 61 Baiko kō hoi *TG* 2, No 3 (1912) 貝貨考補遺 (A Supplementary Study Relating to Shell Money in China)
- 62 Ryōto hakken no kodai doki, *TG* 2, No 1 (1912) 遼東發見の古代土器 (Ancient Earthenware Discovered in the Liao tung Peninsula)
- 63 Ejiputo ni okeru gurisha shokuminchi, *Geimon* 3, No 1 (1912) 埃及に於ける希臘殖民地 (A Greek Colony in Egypt)

- 64 Bokujo eki kofun hakkutsu no kandai kaoku mokei, *Geimon* 3, No 12 (1912) 牧城驛古墳發掘の漢代家屋模型 (A Model of a House of the Han Period Excavated in the Old Tomb of Mu ch eng 1 [explanatory notes to an illustration])
- 65 Gurisha kurito to no hakkutsu, *Geimon* 3, No 10 (1912) 希獵クリト島の發掘 (Excavations on the Island of Crete)
- 66 Seisu ro hakushi, *Geimon* 3, No 4 (1912) セイス老博士 (Old Professor Archibald Henry SAYCE [1845-1933])
- 67 Bokujo eki kofun yori hakken seru kandai no shuki oyobi sono ta no ibutsu, *Kokka* 278 (1913) 牧城驛古墳より發見せる漢代の漆器及其他の遺物 (Laquer Utensils and Other Objects Excavated from the Old Tomb at Mu ch'êng 1)
- 68 Petori sbi kata nite, *Geimon* 4, No 7 (1913) ペトリ | 氏方にて (At Professor PETRIE's Home)
- 69 Eikyo dayori, *Geimon* 4, No 8 (1913) 英京だより (News from London)
- 70 Bungo no sekibutsu ni kansuru ikkosatsu, *Shukyo to shiso* 2, No 4 (1914) 豊後の石佛に關する一考察 (An Opinion concerning Stone Buddhist Images in Bungo [Province])
- 71 Shina bunka to Sumeru bunka Boru shi no gengo monji hikaku kenkyu, *TG* 4 No 2 (1914) 支那文化とスメル文化の | 氏の言語文字比較研究 (Review of *Chinese and Sumerian* by C J BALL, Oxford, 1913)
- 72 Eikoku yori, *Geimon* 5, No 11 (1914) 英國と | (From England).
- 73 Magari no uta, *Geimon* 6, No 7 (1915) マガリの歌 (Magali Poems [translation of Provençal poems])
- 74 Naracho izen ni okeru ebôkoku no keishiki ni tsuite, *Kokka* 316 (1916) 寧樂朝以前に於ける彫刻の形式に就て (On the Forms of Sculpture before the Nara Period)
- 75 Shuriman hakushi mibojin wo tou *Geimon* 7, No 1 (1916) シュリ | マン博士未亡人を訪ふ (A Visit to Dr SCHLIEMANN's Widow)
- 76 "Zeni yori mo ote wo" *Geimon* 7, No 5 (1916) 錢よりもお手を ("Give me your hand rather than money" [A Note on a Visit to Stratford on Avon])
- 77 Shinhakken no afurojite zô, *Geimon* 7, No 6 (1916) 新發見のアフロデア像 (A Newly Discovered Statue of Aphrodite)
- 78 Ko hakushi no tsuioku (Ko Ueda Hakushi no tsuisô), *Geimon* 7, No 9 (1916) 故博士の追憶 (故上田博士の追想) (Reminiscences of the Late Professor UEDA Bin)

- 79 *Selinunte no ishikiriba no iseki, Shirin 1, No 3 (1916)* セリヌンテの石切場の遺跡 (Remains of Selinunte Quarry [Sicily])
- 80 *Etorusuki no iseki, Shirin 2, No 1 (1917)* エトルスキの遺跡 (Etruscan Remains)
- 81 *Etorusuki no iseki to sono bunka, Shirin 2, No 2 (1917)* エトルスキの遺跡と其の文化 (Etruscan Remains and their Civilization)
- 82 *Kan izen no doki ni tsuite Kokka 321 (1917)* 漢以前の土器に就て (On Earthenware before the Han Dynasty)
- 83 *Wagakuni jodai no bijutsu ni tsuite, Kokka 328, 331 (1917)* 我國上代の美術に就て (On Ancient Japanese Art)
- 84 *Nihon sekki jidai jimmin no moyo to ainu no moyo ni tsukite Tsuboi sensei ni kotau, Kokorai 4, Nos 4 and 6 (1917)* 日本石器時代人民の模様とアイヌの模様に就きて坪井先生に答ふ (An Answer to Professor Tsuboi concerning Japanese Stone-age Patterns and Ainu Patterns)
- 85 *Shina kodoki to doki to no kankei ni tsuite, TG 7, No 2 (1917)* 支那古銅器と土器との關係に就いて (On the Relation between Ancient Chinese Bronzes and Pottery)
- 86 *Itari ashiji to sono bijutsu, Geimon 8, Nos 3 and 4 (1917)* 伊太利アノノと其美術 (Assisi and its Art)
- 87 *The Cromlech "Gaer Lwyd" (note to a plate), Geimon 8, No 7 (1917)*
- 88 *Asuku no ichinichi, Geimon 8, No 7 (1917)* アスクの一日 (A Day in Usk [in memory of Alfred J H Bowen])
- 89 *A—Peturutchi kun yukeru ka, Geimon 8 No 9 (1917)* 噲ベトルツチ君逝けるか (In Memory of Mr Petrucci)
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S. E.

SHINJŌ SHINZŌ 新城新藏 (1873-1938)

On August first of this year Dr. SHINJŌ died in Shanghai. Although director of the Japanese Natural Sciences Institute in Shanghai, he is well known among Sinologists for his publications on the history of Chinese astronomy. After graduating from Tōkyō Imperial University, he rose to become professor of physics in the Engineering School of Kyōto Imperial University and later was appointed to the presidency of the same university. He resigned this post in 1933 and spent the last years in Shanghai.

In 1913 he published his first Sinological article on "The Calender of Ancieat China" (Shina jōdai no rekihō 支那上代の暦法, *Geimon* 藝文 4 [1913], 5). Nine of his articles on Chinese astronomy were reprinted in a volume under the title *Studies in the History of Oriental Astronomy* (Tōyō temmon gakushi kenkyū 東洋天文學史研究, Tōkyō, 1928, pp. 671). A companion volume containing seventeen articles was published under the title *Koyomi to temmon* こよみと天文 (Calendar and Astronomy), Tōkyō, 1928, pp. 846. In his articles on various aspects of Chinese culture related to astronomy as well as on the problems of the Dragon, the twelve animals of the zodiac, etc., Professor SHINJŌ displays his great knowledge of astronomy and the scope of his Sinological scholarship.

S. E.

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